

THE
COMMENTARIES

OF
C Æ S A R,

TRANSLATED into ENGLISH.

V O L. II.

THE
COMMENTARIES



CÆSAR

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH
FROM THE LATIN OF JULIUS CAESAR

VOL. II.
WILLIAM DUNCAN,

PROFESSOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF ABERDEEN

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LONDON:

JOHN WATSON and S. DUNCAN in the
and R. and J. DUNCAN in the

MDCCLV.

T H E
C O M M E N T A R I E S
O F
C Æ S A R,

TRANSLATED into ENGLISH.

To which is prefixed a

D I S C O U R S E

C O N C E R N I N G

The ROMAN ART of WAR.

By WILLIAM DUNCAN,

Professor of Philosophy in the University of *Aberdeen*.

V O L. II.

L O N D O N:

Printed for J. and R. TONSON and S. DRAPER in the
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MDCCLV.

THE
COMMENTARIES

OF
GROTIUS

ON THE
LAW OF NATIONS
AND THE
LAW OF WAR

DISCOURSE

ON THE
LAW OF NATIONS

THE ROMAN LAW OF WAR

BY WILLIAM DUNCAN

PROFESSOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF ABERDEEN

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MDCCLXV.

C. JULIUS CÆSAR s
COMMENTARIES
OF HIS
WARS in *GAUL*.
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THE ARGUMENT.

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C. JULIUS CÆSAR's
COMMENTARIES

OF HIS
WARS in GAUL.

B O O K VII.

I. **C**ÆSAR having quieted the Commotions in *Gaul*, went, as he designed, into *Italy*, to preside in the Assembly of the States. There he was informed of the Death of *P. Clodius*: and understanding farther, that the Senate had passed a Decree, ordering all the Youth of *Italy* to take up Arms, he resolved to levy Troops over the whole Province. The Report of this soon spread into farther *Gaul*: and the *Gauls* themselves, forward to encourage such Rumors, added of their own accord what the Case seemed to require: "That *Cæsar* was detained by
" a domestick Sedition, and could not, while these
" Disorders continued, come to head the Army." Animated by this Opportunity; they, who before lamented their subjection to the *Romans*, now began with more freedom and boldness to enter upon Measures of War. The leading Men of the Nation, concerting private Meetings among them-
a 3 selves,

BOOK VII. felves, in Woods and remote Places, complained of the Death of *Acco*; remonstrated, that such might one time or other be their own Fate; and after bemoaning the common Fortune of their Country, endeavoured by all manner of Promises and Rewards, to draw over some to begin the War, and with the hazard of their own Lives, pave the way to the Liberty of *Gaul*. But chiefly they thought it incumbent upon them, before their secret Conferences should be discovered, to cut off *Cæsar*'s return to the Army. This appeared abundantly easy; because neither would the Legions, in the absence of their General, dare to quit their Winter-quarters; nor was it possible for the General to join the Legions, without a Body of Troops to guard him. In fine, they concluded it was better to die bravely in the Field, than not recover their former Glory in War, and the Liberty they had received from their Ancestors.

II. SUCH were the Debates in the private Councils of the *Gauls*: when the *Carnutes*, declaring their readiness to submit to any Danger for the common Safety, offered to be the first in taking up Arms against the *Romans*. And because the present giving of Hostages might endanger a too early discovery of their Designs, they proposed; that the other States should bind themselves by a solemn Oath, in presence of the military Ensigns, which is the most sacred Obligation among the *Gauls*, not to abandon them during the course of the War. This Offer of the *Carnutes* was received with universal Applause, the Oath required was taken by all present, and the time for Action being fixed, the Assembly separated.

III. WHEN the appointed Day came; the Car-BOOK
nutes, headed by *Cotuatius* and *Conetodunus*, Men of VII.
 desperate Resolution, flew upon a Signal given to
Genabum; massacred the *Roman* Citizens settled there
 on account of Trade; among the rest *C. Fufius*
Cotta, a *Roman* Knight of Eminence, whom *Cæsar*
 had appointed to superintend the care of Provisions;
 and plundered their Effects. The Fame of this
 soon spread into all the Provinces of *Gaul*. For
 when any thing singular and extraordinary happens,
 they publish it from Place to Place by Outcries,
 which being successively repeated by Men stationed
 on purpose, are carried with incredible expedition
 over the whole Country. And thus it was on the
 present Occasion. For what had been done at
Genabum about Sun-rise, was known before nine at
 Night in the Territories of the *Averni*, a distance
 of one hundred and sixty Miles.

IV. FIRED by this Example, *Vercingetorix*, the
 Son of *Celtillus*, of the Nation of the *Averni*, a
 young Nobleman of great Power and Interest,
 whose Father had presided over all *Celtic Gaul*, and
 for aiming at the Sovereignty been put to death by
 his Countrymen; calling his Clients and Followers
 together, easily persuaded them to a Revolt. His
 design being discovered, the People immediately
 flew to Arms: and *Gobanitio* his Uncle, with the
 other principal Men of the State, dreading the
 Consequences of so rash an enterprise, united all
 their Authority against him, and expelled him the
 City *Gergovia*. Yet still he adhered to his former
 Resolution, and assembling all the Outlaws and Fu-
 gitives he could find, engaged them in his Service.
 Having by this means got together a Body of
 Troops, he brought all to whom he applied himself

BOOK VII. to fall in with his Views; pressed them to take up Arms for the common Liberty; and finding his Forces greatly increased, quickly drove those out of the Territories of *Auvergne*, who had so lately expelled him the City *Gergovia*. Upon this he was saluted King by his Followers: and dispatching Ambassadors into all Parts, exhorted them to continue firm to the Confederacy. The *Senones*, *Parisians*, *Pictones*, *Cadurci*, *Turones*, *Aulerci*, *Lemo-vices*, *Andes*, and all the other Nations bordering upon the Ocean, readily came into the Alliance, and with unanimous consent declared him Generalissimo of the League. Armed with this Authority, he demanded Hostages of the several States; ordered them to furnish a certain number of Men immediately; appointed what quantity of Arms each was to prepare, with the time by which they must be in readiness; and above all applied himself to have on foot a numerous Cavalry. To the most extreme Diligence, he joined an extreme Rigor of Command; and by the severity of his Punishments, obliged the irresolute to declare themselves: for in greater Faults, the Criminals, after having been tortured, were burnt alive: and for lighter Offences, ordering the Ears of the guilty to be cut off, or one of their Eyes put out, he sent them thus mutilated home, to serve as an Example to the rest, and by the Rigor of their Sufferings to keep others in awe.

V. HAVING by the Terror of these Punishments speedily assembled an Army: he sent *Luterius* of *Quercy*, a bold and enterprising Man, with part of the Forces against the *Rutheni*; and marched himself into the Territories of the *Biturigians*. The *Biturigians*, upon his Arrival, dispatched Ambassadors to the *Aeduans*, under whose Protection they were,

were, to demand Succours against the Enemy. BOOK
 The *Æduans*, by advice of the Lieutenants *Cæsar* VII.
 had left with the Army, ordered a supply of Horse and Foot to the assistance of the *Biturigians*. This Body of Troops, advancing to the Banks of the *Loire*, which divides the *Biturigians* from the *Æduans*, halted there a few Days ; and not daring to pass that River, returned again to their own Country. The reason of this Conduct, according to the Report made to our Lieutenants, was an apprehension of Treachery from the *Biturigians* : for that People, as they pretended, had formed the design of surrounding them beyond the *Loire*, on one side with their own Troops, on the other with those of *Auvergne*. Whether this was the real cause of their Return, or whether they acted perfidiously in the Affair, is what we have not been able to learn with certainty, and therefore cannot venture to affirm. The *Biturigians*, on their departure, immediately joined the Forces of the *Averni*.

VI. THESE things being reported to *Cæsar* in *Italy* ; as the Troubles at *Rome* were in a great measure quieted by the Care and Vigilance of *Pompey*, he set out immediately for *Transalpine Gaul*. Upon his arrival there, he found it extremely difficult to resolve, after what manner to rejoin the Army. For should he order the Legions to repair to the Province, he foresaw they would be attacked on their March in his absence : and should he himself proceed to the Quarters of the Legions, he was not without apprehensions of Danger, even from those States that seemingly continued faithful to the *Romans*.

VII. IN the mean-time *Luterius* of *Quercy*, who had been sent into the Territories of the *Rutheni*, brought

BOOK brought over that State to the Alliance of the

VII. *Averni*; advancing thence among the *Nitobrigians*

and *Gabali*, he received Hostages from both Nations; and having got together a numerous Body of Troops, drew towards *Narbonne*, to attack the *Roman* Province on that side. *Cæsar* being informed of his Design, thought it first and principally incumbent upon him, to provide for the security of the Province. With this view he flew to *Narbonne*; confirmed the wavering and timorous; placed Garrisons in the Towns of the *Rutheni* subject to the *Romans*; also in those of the *Volsicians*, *Tolosatians*, and other States bordering upon the Enemy: and having thus taken effectual Measures against *Lutetius*, ordered part of the provincial Forces, with the Recruits he had brought from *Italy*, to rendezvous upon the Frontiers of the *Helvians*, whose Territories adjoin to those of the *Averni*.

VIII. THESE Dispositions being made, and *Lutetius* checked and forced to retire, because he did not think it adviseable to venture among the *Roman* Garrisons; *Cæsar* advanced into the Country of the *Helvians*. Altho' the Mountains of the *Sevennes*, which separate the *Helvians* from *Auvergne*, by the great depth of the Snow in that extreme rigorous Season, threatened to obstruct his March; yet having cleared away the Snow, which lay to the depth of six Feet, and with infinite Labour to the Soldiers opened a Passage over the Mountains, he at length reached the Confines of the *Averni*. As they were altogether unprepared, regarding the *Sevennes* as an impenetrable Barrier, impassable at that Season even to single Men, he ordered the Cavalry to spread themselves on all sides, and strike as universal a Terror into the Enemy as possible. Fame and Messengers from the State soon informed *Vercingetorix*

rix of the Disaster befallen his Country. All the BOOK
Averni gathered round him in a Body, and with VII.
 Looks full of Dismay, conjured him to regard their
 Fortunes, and not abandon them to the Ravages of
 the *Roman* Army; more especially, as he now saw
 the whole War pointed against them. *Vercingetorix*,
 moved by their Intreaties, put his Army upon the
 March, and quitting the Territories of the *Bituri-*
gians, drew towards *Auvergne*.

IX. *THIS* *Cæsar* had foreseen: and after a stay
 of two Days in those Parts, set out under pretence
 of fetching a Reinforcement. He left young *Brutus*
 to command in his Absence; charged him to dis-
 perse the Cavalry as wide as he could; and pro-
 mised to return, if possible, within three Days.
 Then, deceiving the *Romans* themselves, that he
 might the better impose upon the *Gauls*, he posted
 by great Journeys to *Vienne*. There he found the
 new levied Cavalry whom he had sent thither some
 time before: and travelling Day and Night without
 Intermiſſion, thro' the Country of the *Æduans*, to
 prevent by his Expedition any Designs they might
 form against him; he at length reached the Con-
 fines of the *Lingones*, where two of his Legions
 wintered. Thence sending immediately to the rest,
 he drew them all together into a Body, before the
Averni could be apprized of his Arrival.

X. *VERCINGETORIX*, upon notice of this, led
 back his Army into the Territories of the *Bituri-*
gians; and marching thence, resolved to invest
Gergovia, a Town belonging to the *Boii*, where
 they had been settled by *Cæsar* after the Defeat of the
Helvetians, and made subject to the *Æduan* State.
 This Step greatly perplexed the *Roman* General:
 if he continued encamped with his Legions in one

BOOK Place during the rest of the Winter, and abandoned

VII. the Subjects of the *Æduans* to the Attempts of the

Enemy; he had reason to apprehend that the *Gauls*, seeing him afford no Protection to his Friends, would universally give into a Revolt: if, on the contrary, he took the Field early, he risked the want of Provision and Forage, by the great Difficulty of procuring Convoys. Resolving however at all hazards, not to submit to an Affront, that must for ever alienate the Hearts of his Allies; he pressingly enjoined the *Æduans* to be very careful in supplying him with Provisions: and dispatching Messengers to the *Boii*, to inform them of his Approach, exhorted them to continue firm to their Duty, and sustain with Courage the Assaults of the Enemy. Mean-while leaving two Legions and the Baggage of the whole Army at *Agendicum*, he set out upon his March to their Relief.

XI. ARRIVING the next Day before *Vellaunodunum*, a City of the *Senones*; that he might leave no Enemy behind him capable of obstructing his Convoys, he resolved to besiege it, and in two Days compleated his Circumvallation. On the third, Deputies came from the Town to treat about a Surrender: when ordering them to deliver up their Arms, Horses, and six hundred Hostages, he left *C. Trebonius*, one of his Lieutenants, to cause the Articles be put in Execution; and continuing his March with all Diligence, advanced towards *Genabum*. The *Carnutes*, to whom this City belonged, were drawing Troops together for its Defence; imagining that the Siege of *Vellaunodunum*, of which they had just then received Intelligence, would be a Work of some time. *Cæsar* reached the Place in two Days, encamped before it, and finding it began to be late, deferred the Assault 'till next Morning. Mean-

Mean-while he gave the necessary Orders to his Men : and because the Town had a Bridge over the *Loire*, by which the Inhabitants might endeavour to escape in the Night, he obliged two Legions to continue under Arms. A little before Midnight, the *Genabians*, as he had foreseen, stole silently out of the City, and began to pass the River. Notice being given of this by his Spies ; he set fire to the Gates, introduced the Legions whom he had kept in readiness for that purpose, and took possession of the Place. Very few of the Enemy escaped on this Occasion ; because the narrowness of the Bridge and Passages obstructed the flight of the Multitude. *Cæsar* ordered the Town to be plundered and burnt ; distributing the Spoil among the Soldiers : and crossing the *Loire* with his whole Army, advanced into the Territories of the *Biturigians*.

XII. *VERCINGETORIX*, upon notice of his Approach, quitted the Siege of *Gergovia*, and marched directly to meet him. *Cæsar* mean-while had sat down before *Noviodunum*, a City of the *Biturigians*, that lay upon his Rout. The Inhabitants sending Deputies to the Camp, to implore Forgiveness and Safety : that he might the sooner accomplish his Designs, in which Expedition had hitherto availed him so much, he ordered them to deliver up their Arms, Horses, and a certain Number of Hostages. Part of the Hostages had been already sent ; the other Articles of the Treaty were upon the Point of execution ; and even some Centurions and Soldiers had entered the Place, to search for Arms and Horses : when the Enemy's Cavalry, who were a little advanced before the rest of the Army, appeared at a Distance. Immediately the besieged, upon this prospect of Relief, setting up a Shout, flew

BOOK flew to Arms, shut the Gates, and manned the
 VII. Walls. The Centurions in the Town, judging
 { from the Noise among the *Gauls*, that they had
 some new Project in view, posted themselves with
 their Swords drawn at the Gates ; and getting all
 their Men together, retreated without loss to the
 Camp. *Cæsar* ordering the Cavalry to advance,
 fell upon the Enemy's Horse ; and finding his
 Troops hard pressed, sustained them with some
 Squadrons of *Germans*, whom, to the number of
 about four hundred, he had all along retained in his
 Service. The *Gauls*, unable to stand their Charge,
 at length betook themselves to flight, and were
 driven with great Slaughter to the main Body of
 their Army. Upon this the People of *Noviodunum*,
 terrified anew by the defeat of their Friends, seiz-
 ed all who had been instrumental in breaking the
 Capitulation, sent them Prisoners to *Cæsar's* Camp,
 and delivered up the Town. These Affairs dispatch-
 ed, *Cæsar* directed his March towards *Avaricum*.
 As this was the strongest and most considerable City
 of the *Biturigians*, and situate in the finest part of
 the Country, he easily persuaded himself, that by
 the reduction of it, he should bring the whole Na-
 tion under Subjection.

XIII. VERCINGETORIX, after so many succes-
 sive Losses, at *Vellaunodunum*, *Genabum*, *Noviodu-*
num ; calling a general Council of his Followers,
 represented : " That it was necessary to resolve up-
 " on a very different Plan of War, from that which
 " hitherto had been pursued ; and above all things
 " make it their Endeavour, to intercept the *Roman*
 " Convoys and Foragers ; That this was both a
 " sure and practicable Scheme, as they themselves
 " abounded in Horse, and the Season of the Year
 " greatly favoured the Design ; That the Ground
 " as

“ as yet affording no produce, the Enemy must
 “ unavoidably disperse themselves in the Villages
 “ for Subsistence, and give them daily opportuni-
 “ ties of cutting them off by means of their Ca-
 “ valry. That where Life and Liberty were at
 “ stake, Property and private Possession ought to
 “ be neglected: That therefore the best Resolution
 “ they could take was, to set all their Houses and
 “ Villages on fire, from the Territories of the *Boii*,
 “ to wherever the *Romans* might extend their Quar-
 “ ters for the sake of Forage: That they them-
 “ selves had no reason to apprehend Scarcity, as
 “ they would be plentifully supplied by those
 “ States, whose Territories should become the seat
 “ of the War; whereas the Enemy must either be
 “ reduced to the necessity of starving, or making
 “ distant and dangerous Excursions from their
 “ Camp: That it equally answered the Purpose of
 “ the *Gauls*, to cut the *Roman* Army to pieces, or
 “ seize upon their Baggage and Convoys; because
 “ without these last, it would be impossible for
 “ them to carry on the War: That they ought
 “ to set fire even to the Towns themselves, which
 “ were not strong enough by Art or Nature, to be
 “ perfectly secure against all Danger; as by this
 “ means they would neither become Places of re-
 “ treat to their own Men, to screen them from mi-
 “ litary Service; nor contribute to the support of
 “ the *Romans*, by the Supplies and Plunder they
 “ might furnish: In fine, that tho’ these things
 “ were indeed grievous and terrible, they ought
 “ yet to esteem it still more terrible and grievous,
 “ to see their Wives and Children dragged into
 “ Captivity, and themselves exposed to Slaughter,
 “ which was the unavoidable Lot of the Vanquish-
 “ ed.”

BOOK XIV. THIS Proposal being approved by all,
 VII. upwards of twenty Cities of the *Biturigians* were
 burnt in one Day. The like was done in other
 States. Nothing but Conflagrations were to be
 seen over the whole Country. And tho' the Na-
 tives bore this Defolation with extreme Regret, they
 nevertheless consoled themselves with the hope, that
 an approaching and certain Victory would soon en-
 able them to recover their Losses. A Debate aris-
 ing in Council about *Avaricum*, whether it would
 be proper to defend or set it on fire; the *Biturigians*,
 falling prostrate at the Feet of the rest of the *Gauls*,
 implored: "That they might not be obliged to
 " burn with their own Hands, one of the finest
 " Cities of all *Gaul*, which was both the Orna-
 " ment and Security of their State; more especially
 " as the Town itself, almost wholly surrounded by
 " a River and Morafs, and affording but one very
 " narrow Approach, was, from the nature of its
 " Situation, capable of an easy Defence." Their
 Request prevailed; *Vercingetorix*, tho' he at first op-
 posed, afterwards coming into the Design; partly
 moved by the Intreaties of the *Biturigians*, partly
 by the Compassion of the Multitude. A chosen
 Garrison was immediately put into the Place.

XV. *VERCINGETORIX* followed *Cæsar* by easy
 Marches, and chose for his Camp a Place surround-
 ed with Woods and Marshes, about fifteen Miles
 distant from *Avaricum*. There he had hourly In-
 telligence by his Scouts, of all that passed before
 the Town; and sent his Orders from time to time
 to the Garrison. Mean-while he strictly watched
 our Convoys and Foragers; set upon our dispersed
 Parties, who were obliged to fetch Provisions from
 a great distance; and in spite of all endeavours to
 prevent

prevent it, by choosing such Times and Routs, as were most likely to deceive his Vigilance, very much incommoded them by his Attacks.

XVI. CÆSAR encamping on that side of the Town, where the intermission of the River and Morass formed, as we have said, a narrow Approach; began to raise a Mount, bring forward his battering Engines, and prepare two Towers of Assault; without troubling himself about Lines of Circumvallation, which the nature of the Ground rendered impossible. Mean-while he was continually soliciting the *Æduans* and *Boii* for Corn: but received no great Supplies from either; partly occasioned by the Negligence of the *Æduans*, who were not hearty in the Affair; partly by the want of Ability in the *Boii*, who possessing only a small and inconsiderable Territory, soon consumed all the produce of their own Lands. But tho' the Army laboured under the greatest scarcity of Corn, thro' the Inability of the *Boii*, the want of Inclination in the *Æduans*, and the universal devastation of the Country: tho' they were even for many Days altogether without Bread, and had nothing to appease their extreme Hunger, but the Cattle brought from distant Villages: yet not an Expression was heard over the whole Camp, unworthy the Majesty of the *Roman* Name, or the Glory they had acquired by former Victories. Nay, when *Cæsar* visited the different Quarters of the Legions in person, and offered to raise the Siege, if they found the Famine insupportable; they all with one Voice requested him not to do it, adding: "That during the many
" Years they had served under him, they never
" yet had met with any Check, or undertaken
" ought in which they had not succeeded: That
" they could not but look upon it as inglorious, to
- VOL. II. b "relin-

BOOK VII. "relinquish a Siege they had once begun; and had
 "rather undergo the greatest Hardships, than not
 "revenge the Blood of the *Roman* Citizens, per-
 "fidiously massacred by the *Gauls* at *Genabum*." The same they said to the Centurions and military Tribunes, intreating them to report their Sentiments to *Cæsar*.

XVII. AND now the Towers began to approach the Walls: when *Cæsar* was informed by some Prisoners, that *Vercingetorix* having consumed all the Forage round him, had removed his Camp nearer to *Avaricum*, and was gone himself at the head of the Cavalry, and the light-armed Troops accustomed to fight in their Intervals, to form an Ambuscade for the *Romans*, in a Place where it was supposed they would come next Day to forage. Upon this Intelligence, setting out about midnight in great Silence, he arrived next Morning at the Enemy's Camp. But they having had timely Notice of his Approach by their Scouts, instantly conveyed their Baggage and Carriages into a thick Wood, and drew up in order of Battle upon an open Hill. *Cæsar* then ordered all the Baggage to be brought together into one Place, and the Soldiers to prepare for an Engagement.

XVIII. THE Hill itself where the Enemy stood, rising all the way with an easy ascent, was almost wholly surrounded by a Morass, difficult and dangerous to be passed, tho' not above fifty Foot over. Here the *Gauls*, confiding in the strength of their Post, and having broke down all the Bridges over the Morass, appeared with an air of Resolution. They had formed themselves into different Bodies, according to their several States: and planting select Detachments at all the Avenues and Fords, waited

waited with determined Courage, that if the *Romans* should attempt to force their way thorow, they might fall upon them from the higher Ground while entangled in the Mud. To attend only to the nearness of the two Armies, they seemed as if ready to fight us on even Terms; but when the advantage of their Situation was considered, all this Ostentation of Bravery, was easily discerned to be meer Shew and Pretence. Nevertheless the *Romans* full of Indignation, that the Enemy should dare to face them with so small a Space between, loudly demanded to be led to Battle. *Cæsar* checked their Ardor for the present, and endeavoured to make them sensible, that in attacking an Army so strongly posted, the Victory must cost extremely dear, and be attended with the loss of many brave Men. To this he told them, he was the more averse, because finding them prepared to face every kind of Danger for his Glory, he thought he could not be too tender of the Lives of those who merited so highly at his hands. Having by this Speech consoled the Soldiers, he led them back the same Day to their Camp, and applied himself wholly to the carrying on of the Siege.

XIX. *VERCINGETORIX*, upon his return to the Camp, was accused by the Army of Treason. The removal of his Quarters nearer to those of the Enemy; his departure at the head of all the Cavalry; his leaving so many Troops without a Commander in chief; and the opportune and speedy Arrival of the *Romans* during his Absence: all these, they said, could not easily happen by chance, or without design; and gave great reason to believe, that he had rather owe the Sovereignty of *Gaul* to *Cæsar's* Grant, than to the Favour and free Choice of his Countrymen. To this Charge he replied: "That

BOOK VII. " the removal of his Camp was occasioned by the
 " want of Forage, and done at their own expreis
 " Desire : That he had lodged himself nearer to the
 " *Romans*, on account of the advantage of the
 " Ground, which secured him against all Attacks :
 " That Cavalry were by no means wanted in a Mo-
 " rafs, but might have been extremely serviceable in
 " the Place to which he had carried them : That he
 " purposely forbore naming a Commander in chief
 " at his Departure, lest the Impatience of the Mul-
 " titude should have forced him upon a Battle ;
 " to which he perceived they were all strongly in-
 " clined, thro' a certain weakness and effeminacy
 " of Mind, that rendered them incapable of long
 " Fatigue : That whether Accident or Intelligence
 " brought the *Romans* to their Camp ; they ought
 " to thank, in the one case Fortune, in the other
 " the Informer, for giving them an opportunity of
 " discovering from the higher Ground the incon-
 " siderable Number, and despising the feeble Ef-
 " forts of the Enemy ; who not daring to hazard
 " an Engagement, ignominiously retreated to their
 " Camp : That for his part, he scorned treache-
 " rously to hold an Authority of *Cæsar*, which he
 " hoped soon to merit by a Victory, already in a
 " manner assured, both to himself and the rest of
 " the *Gauls* : That he was willing even to resign
 " the Command, if they thought the Honour
 " done him by that Distinction too great for the
 " Advantages procured by his Conduct. And,
 " added he, to convince you of the Truth and
 " Sincerity of my Words, hear the *Roman* Soldiers
 " themselves." He then produced some Slaves,
 " whom he had made Prisoners a few Days before in
 " foraging, and by Severity and hard Usage brought
 " to his purpose. These, according to the Lesson
 " taught them beforehand, declared : " That they
 " were

“ were legionary Soldiers : That urged by Hun-
 “ ger, they had privately stolen out of the Camp,
 “ to search for Corn and Cattle in the Fields: That
 “ the whole Army laboured under the like Scarcity,
 “ and was reduced to so weak a Condition, as no
 “ longer to be capable of supporting Fatigue :
 “ That the General had therefore resolved, if the
 “ Town held out three Days longer, to draw off
 “ his Men from the Siege. Such (said *Vercingeto-*
 “ *rix*) are the Services you receive from the Man
 “ whom you have not scrupled to charge with
 “ Treason. To him it is owing, that without
 “ drawing a Sword, you see a powerful and victo-
 “ rious Army almost wholly destroyed by Famine ;
 “ and effectual care taken, that when Necessity
 “ compels them to seek Refuge in a shameful
 “ Flight, no State shall receive them into its Ter-
 “ ritories.”

XX. THE whole Multitude set up a shout ; and striking, as their manner was, their Lances against their Swords, to denote their Approbation of the Speaker, declared *Vercingetorix* a consummate General, whose Fidelity ought not to be questioned, and whose Conduct deserved the highest Praises. They decreed, that ten thousand Men, chosen out of all the Troops, should be sent to reinforce the Garrison of *Avaricum* ; it seeming too hazardous to rely upon the *Biturigians* alone for the defence of a Place, whose preservation, they imagined, would necessarily give them the superiority in the War.

XXI. AND indeed, tho' the Siege was carried on by our Men with incredible Bravery, yet were all their Efforts in a great measure rendered ineffectual, by the Address and Contrivances of the *Gauls*. For they are a People of singular Ingenuity, ex-

BOOK VII. tremely quick of Apprehension, and very happy in imitating what they see practised. They not only turned aside our Hooks with Ropes, and after having seized them, drew them into the Town with Engines; but likewise set themselves to undermine the Mount: in which they the more succeeded, because the Country abounding with Iron Mines, they are perfectly skilled in that whole Art. At the same time they raised Towers on all parts of the Wall, covered them carefully with raw Hides, and continuing their Sallies Day and Night, either set fire to the Mount, or fell upon the Workmen. In proportion as our Towers increased in height, by the continual addition to the Mount; in like manner did they advance the Towers upon their Walls, by raising one Story perpetually over another: and counterworking our Mines with the utmost Diligence, they either filled them up with great Stones, or poured melted Pitch into them, or repulsed the Miners with long Stakes, burnt and sharpened at the end; all which very much retarded the Approaches, and kept us at a distance from the Place.

XXII. THE fortified Towns among the *Gauls* have their Walls mostly built in the following manner. Long massy Beams of Wood are placed upon the Ground, at the equal distances of two Feet one from another, and so as to constitute by their length the thickness of the Wall. These being again crossed over by others, which serve to bind them together, have their Intervals on the inside filled up with Earth, and on the outside with large Stones. The first Course thus compleated and firmly joined, a second is laid over it; which allowing the same openings between the Beams, rests them not immediately upon those of the order below, but disposes them artfully above their Intervals, and connects

nects them as before with interjacent Earth and Stones. In this manner the Work is carried on to a proper height, and pleases the Eye by its uniform Variety, the alternate Courses of Stones and Beams, running in even Lines, according to their several Orders. Nor is it less adapted to Security and Defence. For the Stones are proof against Fire, and the whole Mass is impenetrable to the Ram; because being strongly bound together by continual Beams, to a depth of forty Feet, it can neither be disjointed nor thrown down.

XXIII. Such were the Obstacles we met with in the Siege. But the Soldiers, tho' obliged to struggle during the whole time, with Cold, Dirt, and perpetual Rains; yet by dint of Labour overcame all Difficulties, and at the end of twenty-five Days, had raised a Mount three hundred and thirty Feet broad, and eighty Feet high. When it was brought almost close to the Walls, *Cæsar* according to Custom attending the Works, and encouraging the Soldiers to labour without intermission; a little before midnight it was observed to smoke, the Enemy having undermined and fired it. At the same time they raised a mighty Shout, and sallying vigorously by two several Gates, attacked the Works on both sides. Some threw lighted Torches and dry Wood from the Walls upon the Mount, others Pitch and all sorts of Combustibles; so that it was hard to determine on which side to make head against the Enemy, or where first to apply Redress. But as *Cæsar* kept always two Legions upon Guard in the Trenches, besides great numbers employed in the Works, who relieved one another by turns: his Troops were soon in a Condition; some to oppose those that sallied from the Town; others to draw off the Towers, and make openings in the

BOOK VII. Mount; whilst the whole Multitude ran to extinguish the Flames.

XXIV. THE Fight continued with great Obstinacy during the remaining part of the Night: the Enemy still entertained hopes of Victory; and persisted with the more firmness, as they saw the Mantles that covered the Towers burnt down, and the *Romans* unable to rescue them for want of shelter. At the same time fresh Troops were continually sent, to supply the place of those that were fatigued; the Besieged believing, that the safety of *Gaul* entirely depended upon the issue of that critical Moment. And here I cannot forbear mentioning a remarkable Instance of Intrepidity, to which I was myself a Witness on this Occasion. A certain *Gaul* posted before the Gate of the City, threw into the Fire Balls of Pitch and Tallow to feed it. This Man being exposed to the discharge of a *Roman* Battery, was struck thro' the Side with a Dart and expired. Another striding over his Body, immediately took his Place. He also was killed in the same manner. A third succeeded: to the third a fourth: nor was this dangerous Post left vacant, till the Fire of the Mount being extinguished, and the Enemy repulsed on all sides, an end was put to the Conflict.

XXV. THE *Gauls* having tried all methods of Defence, and finding that none of them succeeded, consulted next Day about leaving the Town; in concert with, and even by the Order of *Vercingetorix*. This they hoped easily to effect in the Night; as that General's Camp was not far off, and the Morass between them and the *Romans*, would serve to cover their Retreat. Night came, and the Besieged were preparing to put their Design in execution: when

when suddenly the Women running out into the Streets, and casting themselves at their Husbands Feet, conjured them with many Tears, not to abandon to the Fury of an enraged Enemy, them and their common Children, whom Nature and Weakness rendered incapable of Flight. But finding their Intreaties ineffectual; for in extreme Danger, Fear often excludes Compassion; they began to set up a loud Cry, and inform the *Romans* of the intended Flight. This alarmed the Garrison, who apprehending the Passages would be seized by our Horse, desisted from their Resolution.

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XXVI. NEXT Day *Cæsar* brought forward the Tower, and gave the necessary Directions about the Works. A heavy Rain chancing just then to fall, he thought it a favourable Opportunity for effecting his Design; as he observed the Wall to be less strictly guarded. Wherefore ordering the Soldiers to abate a little of their Vigour, and having instructed them in what manner to proceed; he exhorted the Legions, who advanced under cover of the Machines, to seize at last the Fruit of a Victory acquired by so many Toils. Then, promising Rewards to those who should first scale the Town, he gave the signal of Attack. The *Romans* rushed suddenly upon the Enemy from all Parts, and in a Moment possessed themselves of the Walls.

XXVII. THE *Gauls* terrified at this new manner of Assault, and driven from their Towers and Battlements, drew up triangle-wise in the Squares and open Places, that on whatever side our Men should come to attack them, they might face in order of Battle. But observing that we still kept upon the Walls, and were endeavouring to get possession of their whole Circuit; they began to fear they

BOOK VII. they should have no Outlet to escape by ; and throwing down their Arms, ran tumultuously to the farthest part of the Town. There many fell within the City, the narrowness of the Gates obstructing their flight : others were slain by the Cavalry without the Walls : nor did any one for the present think of Plunder. The *Romans* eager to revenge the Massacre at *Genabum*, and exasperated by the obstinate Defence of the Place, spared neither old Men, Women, nor Children ; inasmuch that of all that Multitude, amounting to about forty thousand, scarce eight hundred, who had quitted the Town upon the first Alarm, escaped safe to *Vercingetorix's* Camp. They arrived there late in the Night, and were received in great Silence : for *Vercingetorix* fearing lest their entrance in a Body, and the Compassion it would naturally raise among the Troops, might occasion some tumult in the Camp, had sent out his Friends, and the principal Noblemen of each Province, to meet them by the way, and conduct them separately to the Quarters of their several States.

XXVIII. NEXT Day having called a Council, he consoled and exhorted the Troops, not to be too much disheartened, or cast down by their late Misfortune : “ That the *Romans* had not overcome
 “ by Bravery, or in the Field ; but by their Address and Skill in Sieges, with which part of War
 “ the *Gauls* were less acquainted : That it was deceiving themselves to hope for Success in every
 “ measure they might think fit to pursue : That
 “ himself, as they all knew, had never advised the
 “ defence of *Avaricum*, and could not but impute
 “ the present Disaster to the Imprudence of the
 “ *Biturigians*, and the too easy Compliance of the
 “ rest : That he hoped however soon to compensate
 “ it

“ it by superior Advantages, as he was using his
 “ utmost Endeavours to bring over the other States, BOOK VII.
 “ which had hitherto refused their Concurrence,
 “ and to form one general Confederacy of all *Gaul*,
 “ against whose united Strength, not the whole
 “ Earth would be able to prevail: That he had
 “ even in a great measure effected his Design, and
 “ in the mean time only required of them, for the
 “ sake of the common Safety, that they would set
 “ about fortifying their Camp, the better to secure
 “ them from the sudden Attacks of the Enemy.”

This Speech was not displeasing to the *Gauls*; and the rather, as notwithstanding so great a Blow, *Vercingetorix* seemed to have lost nothing of his Courage; neither withdrawing from publick view, nor shunning the sight of the Multitude. They even began to entertain a higher Opinion of his Prudence and Foresight, as from the first he had advised the burning of *Avaricum*, and at last sent Orders to abandon it. And thus bad Success, which usually sinks the Reputation of a Commander, served only to augment his Credit, and give him greater Authority among the Troops. At the same time they were full of Hopes, from the Assurances he had given them, of seeing the other States accede to the Alliance. And now for the first time the *Gauls* set about fortifying their Camp; being so humbled by their late Misfortune, that tho' naturally impatient of Fatigue, they resolved to refuse no Labour imposed upon them by their General.

XXIX. NOR was *Vercingetorix* less active on his side, to bring over the other Provinces of *Gaul* to the Confederacy, endeavouring to gain the leading Men in each by Presents and Promises. For this purpose he made choice of fit Agents, who by their Address, or particular Ties of Friendship, were
 most

BOOK VII. most likely to influence those to whom they were sent. He provided Arms and Clothing for the Troops that had escaped from *Avaricum*; and to repair the loss sustained by the taking of that Place, gave Orders to the several States, to furnish a certain number of Men, and send them to the Camp by a Day prefixed. At the same time he commanded all the Archers, of which there were great numbers in *Gaul*, to be fought out and brought to the Army. By these measures he soon replaced the Men whom he lost at the Siege of *Avaricum*. Meanwhile *Theutomatus*, the Son of *Ollovico*, and King of the *Nitobrigians*, whose Father had been stiled Friend and Ally by the Senate of *Rome*, came and joined him with a great Body of Horse, which he had raised in his own Territories, and in the Province of *Aquitain*.

XXX. CÆSAR finding great plenty of Corn and other Provisions at *Avaricum*, stayed there several Days to refresh his Men, after the Fatigue and Scarcity they had so lately undergone. Winter was now drawing towards a period; and as the Season itself invited him to take the Field, he resolved to march against the Enemy, either to draw them out of the Woods and Marshes, or besiege them in their Fastnesses. While he was full of these Thoughts, Deputies arrived from the *Æduans*, to beg his Interposition and Authority, for settling the differences of their State. "Every thing there, they told him, threatened an intestine War. For whereas it had been all along been the Custom to be governed by a single Magistrate, who possessed the supreme Power for the space of one Year; they had now two disputing for that Title, each pretending his Election was according to Law. That the one was *Convidolitanis*, an illu-
" furious

“ serious and popular young Nobleman ; the other
 “ *Cotus*, of an ancient Family, great Authority,
 “ and powerful Relations, whose Brother *Videliacus*
 “ had exercised the same Office the Year before :
 “ That the whole State was in Arms, the Senate
 “ divided, and each Party backed by their Clients
 “ among the People ; nor had they any other
 “ hopes of escaping a civil War, but in his Care
 “ and timely Endeavours to put an end to the Con-
 “ troversy.”

XXXI. ALTHO' *Cæsar* was sensible it would greatly prejudice his Affairs, to quit the pursuit of the War, and the Enemy ; yet reflecting on the Mischiefs that often arise from Divisions, and desirous if possible to prevent so powerful a State, in strict Amity with the People of *Rome*, and which he had always in a particular manner cherished and befriended, from having recourse to the method of Violence and Arms, which might drive the Party that least confided in his Friendship, to seek the Assistance of *Vercingetorix* ; he resolved to make it his first Care, to put a stop to the progress of these Disorders. And because by the Constitutions of the *Æduans*, it was not lawful for the supreme Magistrate, to pass beyond the Limits of the State ; that he might not seem to detract from their Privileges, he resolved to go in person thither, and summoned the Senate and two Candidates to meet him at *Decise*. The Assembly was very numerous : when finding upon Enquiry, that *Cotus* had been declared chief Magistrate by his own Brother, in presence of only a few Electors privately called together, without regard to Time or Place, and even contrary to the express Laws of the State, which forbid two of the same Family, while yet both alive, either to hold the supreme Dignity, or so much as sit

BOOK VII. fit together in the Senate; he obliged him to resign
 VII. in favour of *Convictolitanis*, who upon the Expiration of the Office of the preceding Magistrate, had been elected in all the Forms by the Priests.

XXXII. THIS Sentence being passed; and having exhorted the *Æduans* to lay aside their Quarrels and Divisions, and apply themselves solely to the Business of the present War; to expect with confidence the full Recompence of their Services, as soon as the Reduction of *Gaul* was compleated; and to send him immediately all their Cavalry, with ten thousand Foot, to form a Chain of Posts for the Security of his Convoys; he divided his Army into two Parts. Four Legions under the Conduct of *Labienus*, were sent against the *Senones* and *Parisians*. Six, headed by himself in person, marched along the Banks of the *Allier*, towards the Territories of the *Averni*, with Design to invest *Gergovia*. Part of the Cavalry followed the Rout of *Labienus*; Part remained with *Cæsar*. *Vercingetorix* having notice of this, broke down all the Bridges upon the *Allier*, and began his March on the other side of the River.

XXXIII. As both Armies were continually in view, encamped almost over-against each other; and the Enemy's Scouts so stationed, that it was impossible for the *Romans* to make a Bridge for carrying over their Forces: *Cæsar* began to be uneasy, lest he should be hindered the greatest part of the Summer by the River, because the *Allier* is seldom fordable till towards Autumn. To prevent this Inconvenience, he encamped in a Place full of Woods, over-against one of those Bridges which *Vercingetorix* had caused to be broken down: and remaining there privately next Day with a good Body of Troops, formed by draughting every fourth Cohort,

hort, that the number of Legions might still appear compleat; he sent forward the rest of the Army with all the Baggage as usual, ordering them to march as far as they could. When by the Time of the Day he judged they might be arrived at the Place of their Encampment, he set about rebuilding the Bridge, making use of the old Piles, whose lower Part the Enemy had left standing. Having soon compleated the Work, marched over the Troops he had with him, and chosen a proper Place for his Camp; he recalled the rest of the Forces. *Vercingetorix*, upon Intelligence of this, advanced before by long Marches, that he might not be obliged to fight against his Will. BOOK VII.

XXXIV. CÆSAR after five Days March came before *Gergovia*, where he had a slight Engagement with the Enemy's Horse: and having taken a View of the Place, which he found situated upon a very high Mountain, all whose Approaches were extremely difficult; he not only despaired of reducing it by Storm, but resolved even to forbear investing it, until he had secured the necessary Supplies for his Army. *Vercingetorix* mean-while was encamped near the Town upon the Hill, where he had disposed the Forces of the several States around him, in different Divisions, separated from one another by moderate Intervals. As his Army possessed all the Summits of the Mountain, whence there was any Prospect into the Plains below, they made a very formidable Appearance. Every Morning by Day-break, the Chiefs of each State, who composed his Council, assembled in his Tent, to advise with him, or receive his Orders: nor did he suffer a single Day to pass without detaching some Cavalry, intermixed with Archers, to skirmish with the *Romans*, that he might make trial of the Spirit and

BOOK VII and Courage of his Men. There was a rising Ground, that joined to the Foot of the Mountain on which the Town stood, excellently well fortified by Nature, as being very steep on all sides, and of extreme difficult Access. This Hill, tho' of such Importance to the Enemy, that by our getting Possession of it, we could in a great measure deprive them of Water and Forage, was yet but very indifferently guarded. *Cæsar* therefore leaving his Camp about Midnight; before any Assistance could arrive from the Town, dislodged the Enemy, seized the Hill, and having placed two Legions upon it to defend it, drew a double Ditch twelve Feet deep from the greater to the lesser Camp, that the Soldiers might pass and repass in Safety, even single and without a Guard.

XXXV. WHILE things were in this posture before *Gergovia*, *Convidolitanis* the *Æduan*, to whom, as we have related above, *Cæsar* had adjudged the supreme Magistracy; being strongly solicited by the *Averni*, and at length gained over by their Money, addressed himself to some young Noblemen, the chief of whom were *Litavicus* and his Brothers, of the most distinguished Family of the Province. With these he shared the Reward he had received, and exhorted them to consider: " That they were
 " Subjects of a free State, and born to command :
 " that Liberty and Victory were retarded by the
 " *Æduans* alone, whose Authority restrained the
 " other States, and whose Concurrence in the com-
 " mon Cause would take from the *Romans* all Pos-
 " sibility of supporting themselves in *Gaul*: That
 " tho' he was himself under some Obligation to
 " *Cæsar*, at least so far as a just and equitable De-
 " cision deserved that Name, he thought he owed
 " still more to his Country, and could see no
 " Reason

“ Reason why the *Æduans* should rather have re-BOOK
 “ course to the *Roman* General, in what regarded VII.
 “ their Laws and Customs, than the *Romans* in the
 “ like Case to the *Æduans*.” The Representations
 of the Magistrate, and the Rewards he bestowed,
 soon prevailed: they even offered to become the
 chief Conductors of the Enterprize; and nothing
 was wanting but to consult of proper means for ac-
 complishing the Design, as it was easily foreseen,
 that the State would not be induced without great
 Difficulty to engage in so dangerous a War. At
 last it was agreed, that *Litavicus* should have the
 Command of the ten thousand Foot appointed to
 join *Cæsar*; that he should begin his March; that
 his Brothers should be sent before to the *Roman*
 Camp; and that the rest of the Project should be
 then executed, according to a Plan previously con-
 certed among them.

XXXVI. LITAVICUS having received the Com-
 mand of the Army; when he was within about
 thirty Miles of *Gergovia*, suddenly called the Troops
 together, and addressing them with Tears: “ Whi-
 “ ther, Fellow-soldiers, said he, are we going?
 “ All our Cavalry, all our Nobility are slain. *Epo-*
 “ *redorix* and *Virdumarus*, Men of the first Qua-
 “ lity in the State, being accused by the *Romans* of
 “ Treason, are put to death without Trial. Learn
 “ these things of those who have escaped this gene-
 “ ral Massacre: for as to me, o’erwhelm’d as I
 “ am with Grief for the Loss of my Brothers and
 “ Kinsmen, I have neither Strength nor Voice to
 “ utter our Calamities.” He then produced some
 whom he had beforehand instructed for that Pur-
 pose, and who joining in the same Story, told the
 Multitude, “ That the greatest part of the *Æduan*
 “ Cavalry had been put to the Sword, under pre-
 VOL. II. 6 “ tence

BOOK VII. "tence of holding Intelligence with the *Averni*;
 "and that themselves had escaped only in the
 "Crowd, by withdrawing during the general
 "Slaughter." Upon this the whole Army called
 aloud to *Litavicus*, intreating him to provide
 for their Safety. "As if, said he, there was
 "room for Counsel; or any Choice left, but that
 "of marching directly to *Gergovia*, and joining
 "the *Averni*. Can we doubt, after so black an In-
 "stance of *Roman* Perfidy, but that they are alrea-
 "dy on their way to compleat the Massacre? Let
 "us therefore, if ought of Spirit or Courage re-
 "mains in our Breasts, revenge the Death of our
 "Countrymen so undeservedly slain, and put these
 "inhuman Spoilers to the Sword." He then pre-
 sented some *Roman* Citizens, who had taken the
 Opportunity of their March, for conducting a large
 Convoy of Corn and Provisions to the Camp. In-
 stantly the Convoy was plundered, the *Romans* them-
 selves put to death with the most cruel Torments,
 and Messengers dispatched thro' all the Territories
 of the *Æduans*, to spread the same Forgery of the
 Massacre of their Cavalry and Princes, and thereby
 rouse them to a like Vengeance.

XXXVII. EPOREDORIX the *Æduan*, a young
 Nobleman of distinguished Birth, and great Interest
 in the State; as likewise *Virdumarus*, of equal Age
 and Authority, tho' not so well descended; whom
Cæsar, upon the Recommendation of *Divitiacus*,
 had raised from a low Condition to the highest Dig-
 nities: were both at this time in the *Roman* Camp,
 having come along with the Cavalry at *Cæsar*'s ex-
 press Desire. Between these two was a Competition
 for Greatness; and in the late Dispute about the
 Magistracy, the one had declared warmly for *Con-*
victolitanis, the other for *Cotus*. *Eporedorix* getting
 notice

notice of *Litavicus's* Design, came about midnight to *Cæsar's* Tent, discovered the whole Plot, and intreated him to obviate the mischievous Counsels of a few young Noblemen, and not suffer the State to fall off from the Alliance of the *Romans*, which he foresaw must happen, should so many thousand Men once join the Enemy. For it was by no means probable, that either their own Relations would neglect their Safety, or the State itself make light of so great a part of its Forces.

XXXVIII. THIS Piece of Intelligence gave *Cæsar* extreme Concern, because he had always manifested a particular Regard to the *Æduans*. He therefore drew out immediately four Legions without Baggage, together with all the Cavalry: and because the Affair seemed to depend wholly upon Dispatch, would not even take time to contract his Camp, but left *C. Fabius* his Lieutenant, with two Legions, to defend it against the Enemy. Finding that *Litavicus's* Brothers, whom he ordered to be seized, had some time before gone over to *Vercingetorix*, he began his March, exhorting the Soldiers to bear the Fatigue chearfully in so pressing a Conjunction. They followed with great Alacrity, and advancing about five and twenty Miles from *Gergovia*, came at last within sight of the *Æduans*. *Cæsar* immediately detached the Cavalry against them, to retard and stop their March; but with strict charge to abstain from Bloodshed. He ordered *Eporedorix* and *Virdumarus*, whom they believed slain, to ride up and down among the Squadrons, and call to their Countrymen. As they were soon known, and *Litavicus's* Forgery thereby discovered; the *Æduans* stretched out their Hands, made Signs of Submission, and throwing down their Arms, began to beg their Lives. *Litavicus*, with his Clients,

BOOK who by the Customs of the *Gauls*, cannot without
 VII. Infamy abandon their Patrons, even in the greatest
 ~~~~~ Extremities of Fortune, escaped safe to *Gergovia*.

XXXIX. CÆSAR having dispatched Messengers to the *Æduans*, to inform them, that his Lenity and Regard for their State, had prevailed with him to spare Troops, whom by the right of War he might have put to the Sword; after allowing the Army three Hours Rest during the Night, marched back to *Gergovia*. About half way he was met by a Party of Horse, sent by *Fabius*, to give him notice of the Danger that threatned his Camp. They told him, " That the Enemy had attacked it with all their  
 " Forces, and by sending continual supplies of fresh  
 " Men, were like in the end to overpower the Ro-  
 " mans, whose Fatigue admitted of no Relaxation,  
 " because the vast extent of Ground they had to  
 " defend, obliged them to be perpetually upon the  
 " Rampart: That the multitude of Arrows and  
 " Darts discharged by the *Gauls*, had wounded  
 " many of the Soldiers, notwithstanding the Pro-  
 " tection received from the Engines, which yet had  
 " been of good Service in beating off the Assail-  
 " ants: That *Fabius*, upon the Retreat of the Ene-  
 " my, had closed up all the Gates of the Camp  
 " but two, carried a Breastwork quite round the  
 " Rampart, and made Preparation for sustaining  
 " a like Assault the next Day." *Cæsar* informed of these things, hastened his March with all Diligence, and seconded by the unusual Ardor of the Troops, arrived in the Camp before Sun-rise.

XL. WHILE these things passed at *Gergovia*, the *Æduans*, upon receipt of the first Dispatches from *Litavicus*, staid not for confirmation of the Report; but prompted partly by Avarice, partly by Revenge,

venge, and many by a native Rashness, to which the *Gauls* in general are extremely addicted, being ready to catch up every flying Rumor as a certain Truth : flew immediately to Arms, plundered the *Roman* Citizens of their Effects, slaughtered their Persons, or dragged them into Servitude. *Corvictolitanis* fomented to the utmost this Fury, which had already taken but too fast hold of the Multitude ; that by plunging them into some desperate Act of Violence, he might render a Retreat the more difficult and shameful. At his Instigation, they obliged *M. Ariftius*, a military Tribune, who was upon his way to join the Army, to quit *Cabillonum*, promising not to molest him in his Journey : The same they did by several *Roman* Merchants, who had stopt there on account of Traffick ; and attacking them treacherously on the Road, stripped them of their Baggage, invested Day and Night those that made resistance ; and many being killed on both sides, drew together a greater number of Men to effect their Design. Mean-while coming to understand, that all their Troops were in *Cæsar's* power ; they ran to *Ariftius*, assured him that nothing had been done by publick Authority, ordered Informations to be brought against those who had been concerned in pillaging the *Romans*, confiscated the Estates of *Litavicus* and his Brothers, and sent Ambassadors to *Cæsar* to excuse what had happened. All this they did with a view to the Recovery of their Troops : but conscious of Guilt ; loth to part with the Plunder, in which great numbers had shared ; and dreading the Punishment so gross an Outrage deserved ; they began privately to concert measures of War, and by their Ambassadors solicited other States to join them. Tho' *Cæsar* was not ignorant of these Practices, he spoke with the greatest mildness to the *Æduan* Deputies, assuring

BOOK them of the continuance of his Favour, and that  
 VII. he would not consider as the Crime of the whole  
 Nation, what was owing only to the Imprudence and  
 Levity of the Multitude. Apprehending however  
 an universal Revolt of *Gaul*, and that he might be  
 surrounded by the Forces of all the States at once,  
 he began to think of retiring from *Gergovia*, and  
 drawing his whole Army again into a Body; yet in  
 such manner, that a Retreat occasioned by the fear  
 of an Insurrection, might not carry with it the Ap-  
 pearance of a Flight.

XLI. WHILE he was full of these Thoughts,  
 an Opportunity seemed to offer of acting against  
 the Enemy with success. For coming into the lesser  
 Camp, to take a view of the Works, he observed  
 a Hill, that for some Days before was scarce to be  
 seen for the Multitudes that covered it, now quite  
 naked and destitute of Troops. Wondering what  
 might be the Cause, he enquired of the Deserters,  
 who flocked daily in great numbers to the *Roman*  
 Camp. They all agreed with our Scouts; that the  
 back of the Hill was almost an even Ground, but  
 narrow and woody in that part, where the Passage  
 lay to the other side of the Town: That the Enemy  
 were mightily afraid of losing this Post, because  
 the *Romans*, who had already possessed themselves of  
 one Hill, by seizing the other likewise, would in a  
 manner quite surround them; and being masters of  
 all the Outlets, might entirely cut off their Forage:  
 That *Vercingetorix* had therefore drawn all his Forces  
 on that side, with design to fortify the Passage.

XLII. CÆSAR, upon this Intelligence, dispatch-  
 ed some Squadrons of Cavalry thither about mid-  
 night, ordering them to ride up and down the Place,  
 with as much Noise as possible. At Day-break he  
 drew



drew a great number of Mules and Carriage-horses out of the Camp, sent away their usual Harnes, and furnishing the Grooms and Waggoners with Helmets, that they might resemble Horsemen, commanded them to march quite round the Hill. With these he joined a few Cavalry, who, for the greater shew, were to expatiate a little more freely; and the whole Detachment had Orders to move towards the same parts, taking a very large Circuit. All these Dispositions were seen from the Town, which commanded a full view of the *Roman* Camp, tho' the distance was too great to distinguish Objects with certainty. At the same time *Cæsar*, the more effectually to deceive the Enemy, detached a Legion towards the same Eminence, and when it was advanced a little way, stationed it at the foot of the Hill, affecting to conceal it in the Woods. This increased the Jealousy of the *Gauls* to such a degree, that they immediately carried all their Forces thither to defend the Post. *Cæsar* seeing their Intrenchments abandoned, made his Soldiers cover the military Ensigns and Standards, and file off in small Parties from the greater to the lesser Camp, that they might not be perceived from the Town. He then opened his Design to his Lieutenants, whom he had appointed to command the several Legions, counselling them above all things to moderate the Ardor of the Soldiers, that the hope of Plunder, or desire of fighting, might not carry them too far. He represented particularly the disadvantage of the Ground, against which there was no Security but in Dispatch; and told them, that it was not a regular Attack, but a sudden Onset, to be pursued no farther than Opportunity served. These Precautions taken, he gave the Signal to engage, and at the same time detached the *Æduans* by another Ascent, to charge the Enemy on the right.

BOOK XLIII. The Wall of the Town, had no Breaks  
 VII. or Hollows intervened, was about twelve hundred  
 { Paces distant from the Plain below, measuring in a  
 direct Line from the foot of the Mountain. The  
 Circuit the Troops were obliged to take, to moderate the steepness of the Ascent, added still to this space upon the March. Half way up the Hill, as near as the nature of the Ground would allow, the *Gauls* had run a Wall of large Stones, six Foot high, the better to defend themselves against our Attacks. All between this and the Plain was left quite void of Troops by the Enemy; but the upper part of the Hill, to the very Walls of the Town, was crowded with the Camps of their several States. The Signal being given, the *Romans* immediately mounted the Hill, scaled the outward Wall, and possessed themselves of three of the Enemy's Camps. Such too was the Expedition wherewith they carried them, that coming suddenly upon *Theutomatus* King of the *Nitobrigians*, as he was reposing himself in his Tent about noon, he very narrowly escaped being taken; for he was obliged to fly away half naked, and had his Horse wounded under him.

XLIV. CÆSAR having succeeded as far as his design required, ordered a Retreat to be sounded; and the tenth Legion, which fought near his person, obeyed. The other Legions, not hearing the Signal, because separated from the General by a large Valley, were yet commanded to halt by the Lieutenants and military Tribunes, according to the Instructions given by *Cæsar* in the beginning. But elated with the hopes of a speedy Victory, the flight of the Enemy, and the remembrance of former Successes, they thought nothing impracticable to their Valour, nor desisted from the Pursuit, 'till they had reached the  
 very

very Walls and Gates of the Town. Upon this a BOOK VII.  
great Cry arising from all parts, those that were  
farthest from the Place of Assault, terrified by the  
Noise and Tumult, and imagining the Enemy al-  
ready within the Gates, quitted the Town with Pre-  
cipation. The Women throwing their Money  
and Cloaths from the Walls, with naked Breasts,  
and extended Arms, conjured the *Romans* to spare  
their Lives, and not, as at *Avaricum*, sacrifice all to  
their Resentment, without distinction of Age or  
Sex. Some being let down by their Hands from  
the Wall, delivered themselves up to our Soldiers.  
*L. Fabius*, a Centurion of the eighth Legion, was  
that Day heard to say ; that he had not yet forgot  
the Plunder of *Avaricum*, and was resolved no Man  
should enter the Place before him. Accordingly,  
having with the Assistance of three of his Company  
got upon the Town-Wall, he helped them one after  
another to do the like.

XLV. MEAN-WHILE the Troops, who, as we  
have related above, were gone to defend the Post  
on the other side of the Town; incited by the Cries  
of the Combatants, and the continual Accounts  
brought that the Enemy had entered the Place ;  
sending all the Cavalry before to stop the Progress  
of the *Romans*, advanced in mighty Crowds to the  
Attack. In proportion as they arrived, they drew  
up under the Wall, and augmented the number of  
those who fought on their side. As they soon be-  
came formidable by their Multitude; the Women,  
who a little before had implored the Compassion of  
the *Romans*, now began to encourage their own  
Troops, shewing their dishevelled Hair, and pro-  
ducing their Children, according to the custom of  
the *Gauls*. The Contest was by no means equal,  
either in respect of number, or of the Ground ;  
and

BOOK and the *Romans* already fatigued with the March  
 VII. and length of the Combat, were little able to sustain  
 the attack of fresh and vigorous Troops.

XLVI. CÆSAR observing the disadvantage of the Ground, and the continual increase of the Enemy's Troops, began to be apprehensive about the Event; and sending *T. Sextius* his Lientenant, whom he had left to guard the lesser Camp, ordered him to bring forth the Cohorts with all Expedition, and post them at the foot of the Hill upon the Enemy's right; that if our Men should give way, he might deter the *Gauls* from pursuing them. He himself advancing a little with the tenth Legion, waited the issue of the Combat.

XLVII. WHILE the Conflict was maintained with the utmost Vigour on both sides; the Enemy trusting to their Post and Numbers, the *Romans* to their Courage; suddenly the *Æduans*, whom *Cæsar* had sent by another Ascent on the right, to make a Diversion, appeared on the flank of our Men. As they were armed after the manner of the *Gauls*, this sight greatly terrified the *Romans*; and tho' they extended their right Arms in token of Peace, yet still our Men fancied it a Stratagem to deceive them. At the same time *L. Fabius* the Centurion, and those who had got upon the Wall with him, being surrounded and slain, were thrown down by the Enemy from the Battlements. *M. Petreius*, a Centurion of the same Legion, who had endeavoured to force the Gates; finding himself overpowered by the Enemy, and despairing of Safety, because he was already covered with Wounds, turning to his Soldiers that had followed him, said: "As I  
 " find it impossible to preserve both myself and  
 " you, I will at least do my best to further your  
 " Escape,



“ Escape, whom I have brought into this Danger  
 “ thro’ too eager a desire of Glory. Take advan-  
 “ tage therefore of the present Opportunity.”  
 Then throwing himself upon the Enemy, he killed  
 two, drove the rest from the Gate, and seeing his  
 Men run to his Assistance; “ In vain, says he, do  
 “ you endeavour to preserve my Life. My Blood  
 “ and Strength forsake me. Go therefore, while  
 “ you may, and rejoin your Legion.” Continu-  
 ing still to fight, he expired soon after, preserving  
 his Followers with the loss of his own Life.

BOOK  
 VII.

XLVIII. OUR Men thus pressed on all sides, were at length driven from the Place, with the loss of forty-six Centurions: but the tenth Legion, which had been posted a little more advantageously to cover their Retreat, checked the impetuous Pursuit of the *Gauls*; being sustained by the Cohorts of the thirteenth Legion, who had quitted the lesser Camp under *Sextius*, and possessed themselves of an Eminence. The Legions having gained the Plain, immediately halted, and faced about towards the Enemy: but *Vercingetorix* drawing off his Troops from the foot of the Hill, retired within his Intrenchments. The *Romans* lost that Day about seven hundred Men.

XLIX. CÆSAR assembling the Army next Day, severely blamed the Temerity and Avarice of the Soldiers: “ That they had taken upon themselves  
 “ to judge how far they were to proceed, and what  
 “ they were to undertake; regarding neither the  
 “ Signal to retreat, nor the Orders of their Offi-  
 “ cers. He explained the disadvantage of the  
 “ Ground, and reminded them of his own Conduct  
 “ at the Siege of *Avaricum*, when having surprised  
 “ the Enemy without a General, and without Ca-  
 “ valry.”

BOOK VII. "valry, he had rather chosen to give up a certain  
 "Victory, than by attacking them in a difficult  
 "Post, hazard an inconsiderable Loss: That as  
 "much as he admired the astonishing Courage of  
 "Men, whom neither the Intrenchments of several  
 "Camps, nor the Height of the Mountain,  
 "nor the Walls of the Town could check; so  
 "much did he blame the Licentiousness and Ar-  
 "rogance of Soldiers, who thought they knew  
 "more than their General, and could see better  
 "than him the way to Conquest: That he looked  
 "upon Obedience and Moderation in the pursuit  
 "of Booty, as Virtues no less essential to a good  
 "Soldier, than Valour and Magnanimity."

L. HAVING made this Speech, and in the end exhorted his Soldiers, not to be discouraged by their late Misfortune, nor ascribe that to the Bravery of the Enemy, which was entirely owing to the disadvantage of the Ground: as he still persisted in his Design of retiring, he drew out his Legions, and formed them in order of Battle upon the Plain. But *Vercingetorix* not thinking proper to descend; after a small and successful Skirmish between the Cavalry, *Cæsar* returned again to his Camp. The like he did the following Day: when thinking he had done enough to confirm the Courage of his own Men, and abate the Pride of the *Gauls*, he decamped towards the Territories of the *Æduans*. As the Enemy made no Attempt to pursue him, he arrived the third Day on the Banks of the *Allier*, and having repaired the Bridge, passed over with his whole Army.

LI. HERE he was informed by *Eporedorix* and *Virdumarus*, that *Litavicus* was gone with all the Cavalry to solicit the *Æduans*; and it would be therefore

fore necessary for themselves to set out, in order to prevent his Designs, and confirm the State in their Attachment to the *Romans*. Tho' *Cæsar* was by this time abundantly convinced of the Perfidy of the *Æduans*, and plainly foresaw, that their departure would only hasten the Revolt; he yet did not think proper to detain them, that he might give no ground of Offence, nor betray any Suspicion of Distrust. At parting, he briefly enumerated the Services he had done the *Æduans*: "How low and depressed he had found them, shut up in their Towns, deprived of their Lands, without Troops, Tributaries to their Enemies, and obliged to submit to the ignominious demand of Hostages: To what Power and Greatness they were now raised by his Favour, so as not only to have recovered their former Consideration in *Gaul*, but even to exceed in Dignity and Lustre all that appeared most flourishing in the ancient Annals of their State." With this Charge he dismissed them.

LII. NOVIODUNUM was a Town belonging to the *Æduans*, advantageously situated upon the Banks of the *Loire*. Here *Cæsar* had lodged all the Hostages of *Gaul*, his Provisions, his military Chest, and great part of his own and his Army's Baggage. Hither also he had sent many Horses, brought up in *Italy* and *Spain* for the service of the War. When *Eporedorix* and *Virdumarus* arrived at this Place, and were informed of the disposition of the State: "That *Litavicus* had been received with great marks of Favour at *Bibracte*, the capital City of the Province: That *Conviétolitanis* the chief Magistrate, and almost all the Senate, were gone thither to meet him: That Ambassadors had been publickly sent to *Vercingetorix*, to conclude a Treaty

BOOK "Treaty of Peace and Alliance." They thought  
 VII. the present favourable Opportunity was by no means  
 to be neglected. Having therefore put the Garrison  
 of *Noviodunum*, with all the *Romans* found in the  
 Place to the Sword; they divided the Money and  
 Horses between them, ordered the Hostages to be  
 conducted to *Bibraëte*; and not thinking themselves  
 strong enough to defend the Town, set it on fire,  
 that it might not be of any service to the *Romans*.  
 All the Corn they could in so short a time, they  
 carried away in Barks; and burnt the rest, or threw  
 it into the River. Then drawing together the Forces  
 of the neighbouring Parts, they lined the Banks  
 of the *Loire* with Troops; and to strike the greater  
 Terror, began to scour the Country with their Ca-  
 valry; hoping to cut off *Cæsar's* Convoys, and  
 oblige him, thro' want of Provisions, to return  
 into the *Roman* Province. This appeared the easier,  
 as the *Loire* was considerably swelled by the melting  
 of the Snow, and gave little room to think that it  
 could be any where forded.

LIII. UPON advice of these Proceedings, *Cæsar*  
 thought it necessary to use dispatch; and if he must  
 build a Bridge, endeavour to come to an Action with  
 the Enemy, before they had drawn more Forces  
 together. For he did not even then think it  
 necessary to return to the *Roman* Province; not only  
 as the Retreat itself would be inglorious, and the  
 Mountains of the *Sevennes*, and the badness of the  
 Ways, were almost insuperable Obstacles; but  
 chiefly, because he was extremely desirous to rejoin  
*Labienus*, and the Legions under his Command.  
 Wherefore marching Day and Night with the ut-  
 most Diligence, contrary to all Mens Expectation  
 he arrived upon the Banks of the *Loire*; and his  
 Cavalry very opportunely finding a Ford, which  
 however



however took the Soldiers up to the Shoulders, he placed the Horse higher up to break the Force of the Stream, and carried over his Army without Loss; the Enemy being so terrified by his Boldness, that they forsook the Banks. As he found a great deal of Corn and Cattle in the Fields, the Army was plentifully supplied, and he directed his March towards the Country of the *Senones*. BOOK VII.

LIV. WHILST *Cæsar* was thus employed, *Labienus* leaving the Levies which had lately arrived from *Italy*, at *Agendicum*, to guard the Baggage; marched with four Legions to *Lutetia*, a City of the *Parisians*, situated in an Island of the *Seine*. Upon notice of his Approach, the Enemy drew a great Army together from the neighbouring States. The chief Command was given to *Camulogenus* an *Aulercian*, who tho' in a very advanced Age, was yet urged to accept of that Honour, on account of his singular Knowledge in the Art of War. This General observing there was a large Morass, whose Waters ran into the *Seine*, and obstructed all the Passages round about, encamped there, to hinder the *Romans* from passing the River. *Labienus* at first endeavoured to force a Passage, filling up the Morass with Hurdles and Mold, to give firm footing to the Army. But finding the Attempt too difficult, he privately quit-  
ted his Camp about midnight, and returned towards *Melodunum*. This City belongs to the *Senones*, and is also situated in an Island of the *Seine*, as we before said of *Lutetia*. He found there about fifty Boats, which he speedily drew together, and manned them with his Soldiers. The Inhabitants terrified at this new manner of Attack, and being too few to defend the Place, because the greater part of them had joined the Army of *Camulogenus*, yielded upon the first Summons. Having repaired the Bridge which the  
Enemy

BOOK VII. Enemy had cut down some Days before, he crossed the *Seine* there; and following the course of the River, marched back towards *Lutetia*. The Enemy having Intelligence of this by those who escaped from *Melodunum*, set fire to *Lutetia*, broke down its Bridges, and covering themselves with the Morafs, encamped on the opposite Bank of the *Seine*, over-against *Labienus*.

LV. It was now known that *Cæsar* had departed from *Gergovia*. The Revolt of the *Æduans*, and the universal Insurrection of *Gaul*, were every where spread abroad by the Voice of Fame. The *Gauls* on all Occasions gave out, that *Cæsar* finding his March obstructed by the *Loire*, and being reduced to great straits for want of Corn, had been forced to take the Rout of the *Roman* Province. At the same time the *Bellovaci*, naturally prone to throw off the Yoke, upon hearing of the Defection of the *Æduans*, began to raise Forces, and openly prepare for War. *Labienus* perceiving so great a Change in the Posture of Affairs, soon saw the necessity of pursuing other Measures; and that it was not now his business to make Conquests, or give the Enemy Battle, but to secure his Retreat to *Agendicum*. On the one side he was pressed by the *Bellovaci*, reputed the most warlike People of all *Gaul*; on the other by *Camulogenus*, with a numerous and well-appointed Army. Add to all this, that the Baggage of the Troops, and the Detachment appointed to guard it, were separated from the Legions by a great River. So many Difficulties surrounding him at once, he saw no way to extricate himself but by his Valour and Presence of Mind.

LVI. ACCORDINGLY in the Evening he called a Council of War; and having exhorted the Officers  
to

to execute his Orders with Vigour and Dispatch, distributed the fifty Boats he had brought from *Medunum* to as many *Roman* Knights, commanding them to fall down the River about nine at Night without Noise, four Miles below *Lutetia*, and there wait his coming. Five Cohorts, such as appeared least fit for service, were left to guard the Camp. The other five of the same Legion, with all the Baggage, had Orders to march up the River at Midnight, with much tumult and bustle, which was farther increased by means of some small Barks sent the same way, that made a mighty Noise with their Oars. He himself setting out soon after with three Legions, advanced silently to the Boats that waited for him. There he surprised the Enemy's Scouts, who were stationed along the River, and had been prevented by a sudden Storm from discerning his Approach. The whole Army was quickly carried over, by the Care and Diligence of the *Roman* Knights, to whom that Affair had been given in charge. Almost at the same instant the Enemy had notice, that an unusual Tumult was heard in the *Roman* Camp; that a strong Detachment had marched up the River, on which side likewise a great Noise of Oars was heard; and that a little below they were passing the River in Boats. This Intelligence made the *Gauls* conclude, that the Legions, alarmed at the Revolt of the *Æduans*, were endeavouring to cross the *Seine* in three different Places; for which Reason they likewise divided their Army into three Bodies. For leaving one Party to guard the Passage over-against our Camp, and detaching another towards *Metiosedum*, with Orders to advance to the Place where the Boats had stopped, they marched with the rest of their Forces against *Labienus*. By day-break our Troops had passed the River, and the Enemy's Army appeared

BOOK in view. *Labienus* exhorting his Men to remember  
 VII. their wonted Bravery, the many Victories they  
 had gained, and even to fancy themselves in the im-  
 mediate Presence of *Cæsar*, under whose Conduct  
 they had so often been successful, gave the Signal  
 of Battle. At the very first Charge, the seventh  
 Legion, which formed the right Wing of the Ro-  
 man Army, broke the Enemy's left, and put it to  
 rout. But the right Wing of the *Gauls*, which was  
 engaged with the twelfth Legion, and where *Camu-  
 logenus* was present in Person to encourage his Men;  
 tho' the first Ranks were destroyed by the *Roman*  
*Javelins*, still maintained its Ground with the ut-  
 most Bravery, and seemed determined to conquer.  
 The Dispute was long and dubious; when the Tri-  
 bunes of the seventh Legion having notice how  
 matters went, faced about, and attacked the Ene-  
 my's Rear. Even then not a Man offer'd to fly;  
 but at last, being surrounded on all sides, they were  
 cut to pieces with their General. The Party left  
 behind to watch our Camp, hearing the Noise of  
 the Battle, flew to the Assistance of their Country-  
 men, and posted themselves on a Hill: but not be-  
 ing able to sustain the Assault of the victorious Ro-  
 mans, they soon mingled with the rest of the Fugi-  
 tives, and were cut to pieces by the Cavalry, those  
 only excepted who sheltered themselves in the  
 Woods and Mountains. After this Victory, *Labie-  
 nus* retreated to *Agendicum*, where he had left the  
 Baggage of the whole Army; and from thence,  
 with all his Forces, went and joined *Cæsar*.

LVII. THE Revolt of the *Æduans* gave new  
 Strength to the Confederacy. Deputies were im-  
 mediately dispatched into all Parts. Interest, Mo-  
 ney, and Authority were employed in their turns,  
 to procure the concurrence of the States that still  
 continued



continued quiet. The Hostages seized at *Noviodunum*, enabled the *Æduans* to compel such as were refractory. They sent to require of *Vercingetorix*, that he would come and concert with them measures for carrying on the War; and in particular insisted on being at the head of the League. But this Demand meeting with opposition, a general Assembly of *Gaul* was held at *Bibraſte*, whither the Deputies of all the confederated Nations repaired, and after taking the Affair into consideration, confirmed *Vercingetorix* in the Title of Generalissimo. The *Rhe-mi*, *Lingones*, and *Treviri* were not present at this Assembly: the two first, because they had resolved to continue faithful to the *Romans*; and the *Treviri* on account of their great Distance, and the Employment found them by the *Germans*; which was the Reason that they took no part at all in this War, nor lent their Assistance to either side. The *Æduans* were greatly mortified at seeing themselves excluded from the chief Command: they complained of this Change in their Fortune, and began to regret the Loss of *Cæſar's* Favour. But as they were already too far engaged in the Revolt, they durst not think of detaching themselves from the Confederacy. It was not however without Reluctance, that *Eporedorix* and *Virdumarus*, two young Noblemen of the greatest hopes, consented to take Orders from *Vercingetorix*.

LVIII. As he was now invested with the supreme Command, he enjoined the several States to send Hostages, appointed a Day for that purpose, and ordered all the Cavalry, to the number of fifteen thousand, to assemble with the utmost Expedition. He said, "He was sufficiently provided with Infantry, as he had no mind to refer the Decision of the War to Fortune, or hazard an uncertain

BOOK VII. "Engagement; but abounding in Horse, judged  
 "it the easier and safer way, to intercept the Ro-  
 "man Convoys and Foragers: That in the mean-  
 "time they must resolve to destroy their Corn, set  
 "fire to their Houses, and patiently submit to a  
 "present and private Loss, which was to be re-  
 "warded with Liberty and perpetual Empire."  
 Having thus settled the Plan of the War, he com-  
 manded the *Æduans* and *Segusians*, who border upon  
 the *Roman* Province, to raise ten thousand Foot:  
 to these he joined eight hundred Horse, and put  
 them under the Conduct of *Eporodrix's* Brother,  
 with Orders to attack the *Allobrogians*. At the same  
 time he commissioned the *Gabali*, and the nearest  
 Cantons of *Auvergne*, to make an Irruption into the  
 Territories of the *Helvians*: and the *Rutheni* and *Ca-*  
*durci*, into those of the *Volcæ Arecomici*. He ne-  
 glected not however, by Messengers and private  
 Emisseries, to sound the Disposition of the *Allobro-*  
*gians*, whose Minds he hoped were not yet tho-  
 roughly reconciled to the *Roman* Yoke; endeavour-  
 ing to gain the leading Men by Presents, and the  
 State by an Offer of the Sovereignty of the *Roman*  
 Province.

LIX. To oppose all these Attacks, two and  
 twenty Cohorts were drawn together, while *L. Cæsar*,  
 Lieutenant-General, levied in the Province; and  
 with them prepared to make head on all sides. The  
*Helvians* venturing to come to an Engagement with  
 the Enemy, were defeated, and forced to shelter  
 themselves in their walled Towns, after having lost  
*G. Valerius Donaturus*, the Son of *Caburus*, a Man  
 of principal Rank in their State, and several other  
 Persons of Distinction. The *Allobrogians* placing  
 Detachments at proper Distances along the Banks  
 of the *Rhone*, guarded all the Accesses to their  
 Country

Country with great Diligence and care. *Cæsar*, as he found the Enemy superior in Cavalry, and that his Communication with *Italy* and the Province was cut off, so as to deprive him of all hopes of Succour from that Quarter, had recourse to the *German* Nations beyond the *Rhine*, which he had subdued in the preceding Campaigns, and obtained from them a Supply of Horse, with some light-armed Foot accustomed to fight amongst them. Upon their Arrival, perceiving they were but indifferently mounted, he took the Horses from the military Tribunes, Centurions, *Roman* Knights, and Volunteers, and distributed them among the *Germans*.

BOOK  
VII.

LX. WHILST these things passed, the Enemy's Forces from *Auvergne*, and the Cavalry of all the confederate States of *Gaul*, met at the general Rendezvous, and formed a very numerous Army. *Cæsar* marching through the Frontiers of the *Lingones*, into the Country of the *Sequani*, to be the nearer at hand to succour the *Roman* Province; *Vercingetorix* lodged himself at about ten Miles distance, in three several Camps; and having assembled the Officers of the Cavalry, told them, " That the Season of  
" Victory was at length arrived, when they saw the  
" *Romans* obliged to abandon *Gaul*, and seek a Retreat in the Province: That this indeed served to  
" secure Liberty for the present, but was insufficient to future Ease and Tranquillity, as they would  
" doubtless return with greater Forces than before,  
" and persist in the Design of making War. It  
" was therefore best to attack them now, while  
" they marched incumbered with their Baggage.  
" If the Infantry faced about, in order to assist the  
" Horse, they would thereby be unable to advance;  
" but if, as was more likely, they abandoned the  
" Baggage, to provide for their own Safety, they

BOOK " would be deprived of every Convenience, and  
 VII. " return covered with Ignominy and Reproach :  
 " for as to the Enemy's Cavalry, it was not once  
 " to be imagined, that any of them would so much  
 " as stir from the Body of the Army. That to en-  
 " courage them the more, and strike the greater  
 " Terror into the Enemy, he was resolved to have  
 " the whole Army under Arms before the Camp."  
 These Words were followed by the Acclamations of  
 all the Cavalry, who proposed taking an Oath never  
 to return to their Homes, nor visit their Parents,  
 Wives, and Children, if they did not twice pierce  
 through the *Roman* Army from one end to the  
 other.

LXI. THE Proposal being approved, and the  
 Oath administer'd to all ; *Vercingetorix* next Day di-  
 vided his Cavalry into three Bodies, two of which  
 appeared upon the Flanks of the *Roman* Army,  
 while the third began to charge and harrafs it in  
 front. Notice of this being given to *Cæsar*, he also  
 formed his Horse in three Divisions, ordering them  
 to advance against the Enemy. They made head  
 on all sides at once, the Infantry mean-while conti-  
 nuing quietly under Arms, with the Baggage placed  
 in the Center. Wherever the *Romans* gave way, or  
 appeared hard pressed by the Enemy, thither *Cæsar*  
 sent Detachments from the Legions ; which both  
 checked the Progress of the *Gauls*, and confirmed  
 the Courage of our Men, as they thus saw them-  
 selves sure of being supported. At last the *Germans*  
 on the right, having seized an Eminence, drove the  
 Enemy before them, and pursued them with great  
 Slaughter as far as the River, where *Vercingetorix*  
 was posted with the Infantry. The rest of the *Gauls*  
 perceiving the defeat of their Countrymen, and ap-  
 prehensive of being furrounded, betook themselves  
 likewise



likewise to flight. A dreadful Slaughter ensued on all sides. Three *Æduan* Noblemen of the first Distinction were brought Prisoners to *Cæsar*; *Cotus*, General of the Cavalry, who the Year before had been Competitor with *Convidolitanis* for the supreme Magistracy; *Cavarillus*, who after *Litavicus's* Revolt, had been appointed to command the Infantry; and *Eporedorix*, who was Generalissimo of the *Æduan* Troops in the War against the *Sequani*, before *Cæsar's* Arrival in *Gaul*.

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LXII. *VERCINGETORIX*, upon this total Rout of the *Gaulish* Cavalry, drew off his Troops, whom he had formed in order of Battle before the Camp, and immediately retreated towards *Alesia*, a Town belonging to the *Mandubii*; ordering the Baggage to follow him with all Expedition. *Cæsar* leaving his on a neighbouring Hill, under a Guard of two Legions, pursued the Enemy as far as Day would permit, cut three thousand of their Rear to pieces, and arrived on the morrow before *Alesia*. After examining the situation of the Town; as he saw the Enemy much daunted by the Defeat of their Cavalry, which was the part of their Strength in which they chiefly confided, he exhorted his Soldiers not to be discouraged at the Labour they must undergo, and resolved to invest the Place.

LXIII. THE City of *Alesia* was situated on the top of a very high Hill, so as not to be taken without a formal Siege. The bottom of the Hill was washed on the two sides by two Rivers. Before the Town was a Plain, extending about three Miles in length; but every where else, a ridge of Hills, whose Summits were nearly upon a level, ran round the place at a moderate distance. Under the Walls, on the side facing the East, lay all the Forces of the

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*Gauls* encamped; who filled that whole Space, and were defended by a Ditch, and a Rampart six Foot high. The Line of Contravallation begun by the *Romans*, took in a Circuit of eleven Miles. The Camp was conveniently situated, and strengthened with three and twenty Redoubts, in which Sentinels were placed by Day, to give notice of any sudden Irruption, and a strong Guard, by Night, to defend them in case of Assault.

LXIV. WHILST the *Romans* were employed in these Works, *Vercingetorix* ventured on another Engagement of the Horse, in the Plain between the Hills, which, we have said, extended about three Miles in length. The Contest was sharply maintained on both sides; but our Men at length beginning to give ground, *Cæsar* detached the *Germans* to their Assistance, and drew up the Legions in order of Battle before the Camp, that he might be ready to oppose any sudden Irruption of the Enemy's Infantry. The sight of the Legions revived the Courage of our Men: the Enemy were put to flight; and crowding upon one another in their Retreat, so obstructed the Gates of the Camp, that it became in a manner impossible to enter. The *Germans* pursued them to their Intrenchments, where a very great Slaughter ensued. Some quitting their Horses, endeavoured to pass the Ditch, and get over the Rampart. *Cæsar* perceiving their Disorder, ordered the Legions, whom he had drawn out before the Camp, to advance a little. This Motion no less alarmed the *Gauls* within the Rampart; who believing the whole Body of the *Roman* Army was coming to attack them, sounded to Arms. Some in their fright fled into the Town; upon which *Vercingetorix*, fearing the Camp would be abandoned, ordered the Gates to be shut. At length the  
*Germans*,

Germans, having slain great numbers of the Enemy, and taken a multitude of Horses, returned from the Pursuit. BOOK VII.

LXV. VERCINGETORIX, before our Line was compleated, resolved to dismiss his Cavalry by Night. At parting he enjoined them, “To repair  
“ severally to their respective States, and assemble  
“ all the Men capable of bearing Arms. He set  
“ forth the many Services he had done them, and  
“ conjured them not to neglect his Safety, or abandon to the Cruelty of the Enemy, one who had  
“ deserved so well of the common Liberty. He  
“ told them, that if they were remiss in the Execution of his Orders, no less than eighty thousand chosen Men must perish with him : That  
“ by computation, he had scarce Corn for thirty  
“ Days : and that even with the utmost Oeconomy  
“ it could be made to hold out but a very little  
“ longer.” After giving these Instructions, he dismissed them quietly about nine at night, on the side where the *Roman* Line was not yet finished. He then ordered the People of the Town to bring in all their Corn, threatening them with Death in case of Disobedience. As there was a great number of Cattle in the Place, which had been driven thither by the *Mandubians*, he distributed them to the Soldiers man by man, resolving to deliver out the Corn sparingly and by measure. At the same time he made all his Forces enter the Town ; and having thus settled the Plan of his Defence, waited for the expected Succours.

LXVI. CÆSAR having notice of these things from the Prisoners and Deserters, constructed his Lines in the following manner. He made a Ditch twenty Foot wide, with perpendicular Sides, giving it

BOOK it the same breadth at bottom as at top. All the  
 VII. other Works were four hundred Feet further off  
 the Town than this Ditch. As his Lines included  
 so great a Space, and therefore could not be alike  
 guarded in all Parts, he judged this Precaution ne-  
 cessary, to secure them against sudden Sallies by  
 Night, and screen the Workmen from the Enemy's  
 Darts by Day. Observing this distance, he made  
 two other Ditches, fifteen Feet broad, and as many  
 deep; and filled the innermost, which lay in a low  
 and level Ground, with Water from the River.  
 Behind these was a Rampart of twelve Feet high,  
 strengthened with a Parapet and Battlements: and  
 to prevent the Enemy from getting over, a Fraise  
 ran along the foot of the Parapet, made of long  
 Stakes, with their Branches cut in points, and  
 burnt at the end like a Stag's Horns. The whole  
 Work was flanked with Redoubts, eighty Foot di-  
 stant one from another.

LXVII. BUT as the Soldiers were employed at  
 the same time to fetch Wood and Provisions, and to  
 work at the Fortifications; which considerably les-  
 soned the number of Troops left to defend the  
 Camp, many of them being at a distance on these  
 Services: and as the *Gauls*, besides, often sallied at  
 several Gates, with design to interrupt the Works:  
 for all these Reasons, *Cæsar* judged it necessary to  
 make some addition to his Lines, that they might  
 not require so many Men to guard them. He  
 therefore took Trees of no great height, or large  
 Branches, which he caused to be made sharp at the  
 ends; and running a Trench of five Feet deep be-  
 fore the Lines, he ordered them to be put into it,  
 and made fast at bottom, so that they could not be  
 pulled up. This Trench was again filled up in such  
 a manner, that nothing but the Branches of the  
 He 2d.



Head appeared, of which the Points must have run into those who should have endeavoured to pass them. As there were five rows of them, interwoven in a manner with each other, they were unavoidable. The Soldiers called them Cippi. In the front of these he caused Pits of three Feet deep to be dug in form of the Quincunx, and something narrower at bottom than at top. In these Pits he fixed strong Stakes, about the thickness of a Man's Thigh, burnt and sharpened at the top, which rose only four Inches above the level of the Ground, into which they were planted three Feet deeper than the Pits, for the sake of firmness. The Pits were covered over with Bushes to deceive the Enemy. There were eight rows of them at the distance of three Feet from each other. They were called Lilies, from the resemblance they bore to that Flower. In the front of all, he sowed the whole Space between the Pits and the advanced Ditch with Crows-foot of an extraordinary size, which the Soldiers called Spurs.

LXVIII. THESE Works compleated, he drew another Line of fourteen Miles in compass, constructed in the same manner as the former, and carried thro' the most even Places he could find, to serve as a Barrier against the Enemy without; that if the *Gauls* should attack the Camp in his Absence, they might not be able to surround it with the Multitude of their Troops, or charge with equal Vigour in all parts. At the same time, to prevent the Danger his Men might be exposed to, by being sent in quest of Provisions and Forage, he took care to lay in a sufficient stock of both for thirty Days.

LXIX.

BOOK LXIX. VII. *WHILST* these things passed before *Alesia*, a general Council being held of the principal Noblemen of *Gaul*, it was not thought proper to assemble all that were able to bear Arms, as *Vercingetorix* desired, but to order each Nation to furnish a Contingent; lest the Confusion inseparable from so great a Multitude, should bring on a scarcity of Provisions, or render the observance of military Discipline impracticable. The *Æduans*, with their Vassals the *Segusians*, *Ambivareti*, *Aulerci Brannovices*, and *Brannovii*, were rated at thirty-five thousand. A like number was demanded from the *Averni*, in conjunction with their Dependents the *Cadurci*, *Gabali*, and *Velauni*. The *Senones*, *Sequani*, and *Biturigians*, *Xantones*, *Rutheni*, and *Carnutes*, were ordered each to furnish twelve thousand: the *Bellovaci*, ten thousand: the *Lemovices*, the same number: the *Pictones*, *Turoni*, *Parisians*, and *Suessiones*, each eight thousand: the *Ambiani*, *Mediomatrici*, *Petrocorians*, *Nervians*, *Morini*, *Nitobrigians*, and *Aulerci Cenomani*, each five thousand: the *Atrebatians*, four thousand: the *Belloacasians*, *Lexovians*, and *Aulerci Eburovices*, each three thousand: the *Rauraci* and *Boii*, thirty thousand: the maritime and *Armorican* States, of which number are the *Curiosolites*, *Rhedones*, *Caletes*, *Osismians*, *Lemovices*, *Venetians*, and *Unellians*, each six thousand. The *Bellovaci* alone refused to furnish the Troops required, pretending it was their Design to wage an independent War with the *Romans*, without being subject to the controul of any one: however, at the request of *Comius*, for whom they had a great Respect, they sent a Body of two thousand Men.

LXX. *THIS Comius*, as we have related above, had been singularly faithful and serviceable to *Cæsar*

in his *Britannick* Expedition; in consideration of which, his State had been exempted from all Tribute, restored to the full enjoyment of its Laws and Privileges, and even enlarged, by having the Country of the *Morini* added to its Territories. But such was the present Unanimity of the *Gauls*, in the Design of vindicating their Liberty, and recovering their wonted Reputation in War, that neither Benefits received, nor the strictest Ties of Friendship, could make any Impression upon their Minds; but all with one Consent flew to Arms, and contributed largely to the support of the War. The Country of the *Æduans* was the general Rendezvous of the Army, which amounted to eight thousand Horse, and two hundred and forty thousand Foot. Four Commanders in chief were appointed; *Comius* of *Arras*, *Virdumarus* and *Eporedorix* the *Æduans*, and *Vergasillaunus* of *Auvergne*, Cousin-german to *Vercingetorix*. To these were added a select number of Officers, chosen from among the several States, to serve by way of a Council of War. The whole Army advanced towards *Alesia*, full of Courage and Confidence, and satisfied that the *Romans* would not sustain the very sight of so prodigious a Multitude; especially in an Encounter attended with so much hazard, where they must be exposed to a vigorous Sally from the Town, at the same time that they saw themselves surrounded with such Numbers of Horse and Foot.

LXXI. MEAN-WHILE the Troops shut up in *Alesia*, having consumed all their Provisions, finding the Day appointed for the Arrival of Succours expired, and knowing nothing of what was transacted among the *Æduans*, summoned a Council of War, to debate upon what was requisite in the present Exigence. Various Opinions were proposed :  
some

BOOK VII. some advised a Surrender : others were for sallying  
 while yet their Strength would permit : amongst  
 the rest *Critognatus*, a Man of the first Rank and  
 Authority in *Auvergne*, addressed the Assembly in a  
 Speech, which for its singular and detestable Inhu-  
 manity, deserves a particular mention in this place.  
 “ I shall not, says he, take notice of the Opinion  
 “ of those, who endeavour to shelter an ignomini-  
 “ ous Servitude, under the plausible Name of a  
 “ Surrender ; such should neither be reckoned  
 “ *Gauls*, nor suffered to come to this Council. Let  
 “ me rather apply myself to them who propose a  
 “ general Sally: for here, as all of you seem to  
 “ think, we meet with something worthy of our  
 “ ancient Virtue. And yet I am not afraid to say,  
 “ that it is at the bottom Weakness, and not Cou-  
 “ rage, that inspires such Thoughts, and renders  
 “ us unable to support Want a few Days. It is  
 “ easier to find those who will voluntarily rush on  
 “ Death, than such as can patiently endure Pain.  
 “ I shall not however be against this Proposal,  
 “ which I confess has something generous in it, if  
 “ only our own Lives were at stake. But in this  
 “ Deliberation, we must keep all *Gaul* in view,  
 “ whom we have called to our Assistance. How  
 “ would it dispirit our Relations and Friends, to  
 “ see eighty thousand of their Countrymen slaugh-  
 “ tered in one Place, and be obliged to fight in the  
 “ midst of their dead Bodies ! Deprive not then of  
 “ your Assistance those, who, to save you, have  
 “ exposed themselves to the greatest Dangers ; nor  
 “ thro’ an inconsiderate Temerity, and mistaken  
 “ Valour, destroy at once all the Expectations of  
 “ *Gaul*, and plunge her into perpetual Servitude.  
 “ If the expected Succours are not arrived exactly  
 “ at the appointed time, ought you therefore to  
 “ suspect the Fidelity and Constancy of your Coun-  
 “ trymen ?



“ trymen? And can you think that it is for  
“ Amusement only, that the *Romans* labour on  
“ those Lines towards the Country? Tho’ you  
“ hear not from your Friends, because all Com-  
“ munication is hindered; yet you may learn the  
“ approach of the Succours from your Enemies  
“ themselves; who, thro’ fear of them, work  
“ Day and Night without ceasing on those Fortifi-  
“ cations. What then should I propose? What but  
“ to do as our Ancestors did in the War with the  
“ *Teutones* and *Cimbri*, much less interesting than  
“ that we are now engaged in. Compelled to shut  
“ themselves up in their Towns, and reduced to a  
“ Distress equal to that we now experience, rather  
“ than surrender to their Enemies, they chose to  
“ sacrifice to their Subsistence the Bodies of those  
“ whom Age incapacitated for War. Had we no  
“ such Precedent to follow, yet still I should esteem  
“ it glorious, in so noble a Cause as that of Liberty,  
“ to institute and give one to Posterity. For where  
“ had we ever a War upon our hands like that we  
“ are now engaged in? The *Cimbri*, after laying  
“ waste *Gaul*, and spreading Desolation thro’ the  
“ whole Country, withdrew however their Forces  
“ at length, and repaired to other Regions, leav-  
“ ing us the full enjoyment of our Laws, Customs,  
“ Lands, and Liberties. But the *Romans* instigat-  
“ ed by Envy, and, jealous of a People so re-  
“ nowned and powerful in War, aim and intend  
“ nothing less than to establish themselves in our  
“ Cities and Territories, and reduce us to perpe-  
“ tual Servitude. This has ever been the Object  
“ of all their Wars. If you are unacquainted  
“ with what passes in distant Countries, cast your  
“ Eyes upon the adjoining *Gaul*, which reduced  
“ into the form of a Province, stript of its Laws  
“ and Privileges, and subjected to the arbitrary

“ Sway

BOOK "Sway of the Conqueror, groans under an endless  
 VII. "Yoke of Slavery." When all had delivered their

Opinions, a Resolution was taken, that such as by Age or Sickness were unfit for War, should be obliged to quit the Town, and every Expedient be tried, rather than give into the Proposal of *Critognatus*: but if Necessity urged, and Relief was long deferred, they determined upon submitting to his Advice, preferably to Peace or a Surrender. The *Mandubii*, to whom the City belonged, were driven thence with their Wives and Children. When they came to the *Roman* Lines, they with Tears petitioned to be received as Slaves, and saved from perishing miserably by Famine. But *Cæsar* having planted Guards along the Rampart, refused to admit them into his Camp.

LXXII. MEAN-WHILE *Comius*, and the other general Officers, on whom the chief Command had been conferred, arrived before *Alesia* with all their Forces, and encamped on a Hill without the Town, not above five hundred Paces from the *Roman* Lines. The next Day they drew out their Cavalry, and covered the whole Plain under the Hill, which, as we have already said, extended three Miles in length. The Infantry were stationed at some distance on the Heights; yet so as to lie concealed from the view of the *Romans*. As *Alesia* commanded a full prospect of the Plain below, the Succours were soon discovered by the Besieged, who assembling in crowds, congratulated each other; and testified an universal Joy. Immediately they came forth with all their Forces, posted themselves before the Town, and having filled up the nearest Ditch with Earth and Fascines, prepared for a vigorous Sally, and every thing else that might happen.

LXXIII. CÆSAR having disposed his whole Army on both sides the Works, that in case of need, every Soldier might know his Post, and be ready to maintain it, ordered the Cavalry to sally out upon the Enemy, and begin the Charge. The Camp running along a ridge of a rising Ground, commanded a view of the Plain on all sides; and the Soldiers to a Man, with deep attention, waited the issue of the Combat. The *Gauls* had interspersed among their Cavalry some Archers and light-armed Troops, to sustain them in case of need, and check the Impetuosity of our Horse. Several of the *Romans* being wounded by these at the first Charge, were obliged to quit the Battle. The *Gauls* now believing they had the Advantage, and seeing our Men overpowered by numbers, set up an universal Shout, as well within as without the Place, to give new life to their Troops. As the Action passed in the view of both Armies, who were of course Witnesses to the Valour or Cowardice of the Combatants, the desire of Applause, or fear of Ignominy, spurred on each Side to exert their utmost Bravery. After a Conflict that lasted from Noon 'till near Sun-set, Victory all the while continuing doubtful, the *Germans* in close Order charged furiously the Enemy on one side, and forced them to give ground. Their Flight leaving the Archers exposed, they were all surrounded and cut to pieces. The Success was equal in other parts of the Field, where our Men pursuing the Runaways to their Camp, gave them no time to rally. The Troops who had quitted *Alesia*, despairing now almost of Victory, returned disconsolate to the Town.

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LXXIV. AFTER the interval of a Day, which was wholly spent in providing a great number of  
VOL. II. c Fascines,

BOOK Fascines, Scaling-Ladders, and iron Hooks; the

VII. *Gauls* issuing from their Camp at midnight in great

silence, attacked the *Roman* Lines on the side of the Plain. They began with setting up a sudden Shout, to advertise the Besieged of their Arrival; threw their Fascines into the Ditch; endeavoured by a discharge of Stones, Darts, and Arrows, to drive our Men from the Rampart; and practised every thing necessary to render the Storm successful. At the same time *Vercingetorix*, hearing their Cries, founded to Arms, and led forth his Men to the Attack. The *Romans*, whose Posts had been allotted them some Days before, flew to the Works, and with Slings, Darts, Bullets, and Engines, prepared on purpose, struck a Terror into the Assailants. As the Parties could not see one another by reason of the Darkness, many Wounds were received on both sides, and a great number of Darts discharged from the Engines. But *M. Antonius* and *C. Trebonius*, who commanded on the side that was most pressed by the Enemy, took care to draw out Parties from the more distant Redoubts, and send them where their Assistance was chiefly wanted.

LXXV. WHILE the *Gauls* kept at a distance from our Lines, they did great execution by the multitude of their Darts: but in proportion as they approached, they either intangled themselves unawares among the Caltrops, or tumbling into the Wells were wounded by the pointed Stakes, or were pierced by the Darts discharged from the Towers and Rampart. After many Wounds given and received; finding, when Day appeared, that they had not forced any part of the Lines; and fearing to be taken in flank by some Troops that were salying from the Redoubts on the Eminence, they retreated to their Camp. Mean-while the Besieged,  
after



after much time spent in preparing for a Sally, and filling up the advanced Ditch, finding that their Countrymen were retired, before they could so much as approach the Works, returned into the Town without effecting any thing. BOOK VII.

LXXVI. THE *Gauls* thus twice repulsed with great Loss, consult what new measures they are to pursue; and advising with those who knew the Ground, learnt from them the Strength and Situation of the upper Camp. North of the Town was a Hill of too great a compass to be taken into the Circumvallation; insomuch that the *Romans* had been obliged to post themselves on its Ascent, in a very disadvantageous Situation, because their Camp was commanded by its Summit. *C. Antistius Reginus*, and *C. Caninius Rebilus*, Lieutenant-generals, guarded this Quarter with two Legions. The Enemy's Generals, after informing themselves of the nature of the Country by their Scouts, selected five and fifty thousand of their best Troops, concerted privately among themselves the Plan and Manner of acting, appointed the time for the Assault about noon, and assigned the Command of the Detachment to *Vergasillaunus* of *Auvergne*, one of the four principal Leaders, and a near Relation of *Vercingetorix*. *Vergasillaunus* leaving his Camp in the Evening, finished his March by Day-break; and concealing his Troops behind a Hill, ordered his Soldiers to refresh themselves after their Fatigue. As soon as it was noon, he approached the Quarters of the two Legions. At the same time the Cavalry advanced into the Plain, and the whole Army drew out before the Camp.

LXXVII. *VERCINGETORIX* observing these Motions from the Citadel of *Alesia*, led forth his  
e 2 Troops;

BOOK VII. Troops ; carrying along with him the Fascines, long Poles, covered Galleries, Hooks, and other Instruments he had prepared for the Assault. The Fight was maintained at all sides at once ; nor did the *Gauls* leave any thing unattempted, but flocked continually to those parts of the Works which appeared to be the weakest. The *Roman* Forces having so many Works to guard, were dispersed in different Places, and scarce sufficed for the defence of them all. What mostly contributed to disturb them was, the Cries of the Combatants behind, which informed them that their Safety depended on the Valour of others. For such is the Constitution of the human Mind, as always to aggrandize absent Objects, and magnify the Danger that is out of sight.

LXXVIII. CÆSAR chose a Post from whence he could see every thing, and then sent Reinforcements where necessary. Both Parties called to mind, that now was the time for making the greatest Effort. The *Gauls* had no hope of Safety, but in forcing the *Roman* Lines. Our Men again were sensible, that if they came off victorious on this Occasion, all their Labours would be at an end. The chief stress of the Battle lay at the higher Fortifications, where *Vergasillaunus* charged with his Detachment ; because the small Eminence, which commanded the declivity of the Hill, gave the Enemy great Advantage. Some were employed in throwing Darts ; others advanced to the Attack under cover of their Shields, fresh Men still succeeding in the room of those that were fatigued. The Earth they threw up against our Lines, not only enabled them to ascend the Rampart, but entirely frustrated the design of the Works the *Romans* had made in the Ground. In fine, our Men had  
neither

neither Strength nor Weapons left to make resistance. BOOK  
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LXXIX. CÆSAR observing the danger they were in, sent *Labienus* with six Cohorts to their Assistance; ordering him, if he found himself unable to defend the Works, to sally out upon the Enemy; yet this only in case of Extremity. He himself went in person to the rest of the Troops, exhorting them to bear up courageously under their present Fatigue, and representing, that the Fruit of all their former Victories depended upon the Issue of that critical Day and Hour. The Troops within the Place, despairing to force the Intrenchments on the side of the Plain, because of the great Strength of the Works, attacked them in the more steep and difficult Places, whither they brought all the Instruments prepared for the Assault. They soon drove our Men from the Towers by a discharge of Darts, levelled the way with Earth and Fascines, and began to cut down the Rampart and Breast-work with their Hooks.

LXXX. CÆSAR first sent young *Brutus*, with six Cohorts; after him, *C. Fabius*, Lieutenant-general, with seven more; and last of all, as the Dispute grew very warm, marched himself in person at the head of the whole Detachment. Having by this means restored the Battle, and forced the Enemy to retire, he hastened to the side where *Labienus* was engaged. He drew four Cohorts from the nearest Fort, ordered part of the Cavalry to follow him, and charged the rest to take a Circuit round the outward Works, and fall upon the Enemy's Rear. *Labienus* finding that neither the Rampart nor Ditch were sufficient to stop the Progress of the Enemy, drew together about thirty-nine Cohorts

LOOK from the nearest Forts, and sent to inform *Cæsar* of  
 VII. his Design. *Cæsar* immediately quickened his  
 March, that he might be present at the Action.

LXXXI. His Arrival being known from the Colour of his Garments, by which he used to distinguish himself in a Day of Battle; and the Troops and Cohorts he had ordered to follow him, appearing; all which were easily discerned from the higher Ground: the Enemy began the Charge. A mighty Shout was raised on both sides, which being caught by those on the Rampart, was carried quite round the Lines. Our Men, having cast their Darts, fell upon the *Gauls* Sword in hand. At the same time the Cavalry appeared unexpectedly in their Rear: fresh Cohorts flocked continually to our Assistance: the Enemy took to flight, and in their Retreat were encountered by our Horse: a dreadful Slaughter ensued. *Sedulius*, Chief and General of the *Lemovices*, was slain on the spot; *Vergasillaunus* of *Auvergne*, was made Prisoner in the Pursuit; seventy-four Colours were taken, and brought to *Cæsar*; and out of so great a Multitude, very few regained the *Gaulish* Camp. The Rout and Slaughter being observed from the Town, the Besieged, despairing of Success, drew off their Troops from the Attack. Instantly, upon the Report of this Disaster, the *Gauls* abandoned their Camp; and had not our Troops been wearied out by the continual Fatigue of the Day, and the frequent Reinforcements they were obliged to furnish, the Enemy's whole Army might have been exterminated. At midnight *Cæsar* detached the Cavalry to pursue them, who falling in with their Rear, slew some, and took a great number of Prisoners. The rest escaped to their several Habitations.



LXXXII. NEXT Day *Vercingetorix* assembling a Council, represented to the Besieged; "That he had undertaken that War, not from a Motive of private Interest, but to recover the common Liberty of *Gaul*: and that, since there was a Necessity of yielding to Fortune, he was willing to become a Victim for their Safety, whether they should think proper to appease the Anger of the Conqueror by his Death, or to deliver him up alive." A Deputation immediately waited on *Cæsar* to receive his Orders. He insisted on the Surrender of their Arms, and the delivering up of all their Chiefs. Having accordingly seated himself at the head of his Lines before the Camp: their Leaders were brought; *Vercingetorix* delivered up; and their Arms thrown into the Ditch. Reserving the *Æduans* and *Averni*, as a means to recover those two potent Nations, he divided the rest of the Prisoners among his Soldiers, giving to each one.

BOOK  
VII.

LXXXIII. THESE Affairs dispatched, he marched into the Territories of the *Æduans*, where he received the Submission of their State. There he was addressed by the Ambassadors of the *Averni*, who promised an entire Obedience to his Commands. He exacted a great number of Hostages; sent his Legions into Winter-quarters; and restored about twenty thousand Captives to the *Æduans* and *Averni*. *T. Labienus*, with two Legions and the Cavalry, was quartered among the *Sequani*, jointly with *M. Sempronius Rutilus*. *C. Fabius*, and *L. Minutius Basilus*, were ordered with two Legions into the Country of the *Rbemi*, to defend it against the Attempts of the *Bellovaci* their Neighbours. *C. Antistius Reginus* had his Station assigned him among the *Ambivareti*; *T. Sextius* among the *Biturigians*;

BOOK and C. *Caninius Rebilus* among the *Rutheni*; each  
VII. with one Legion. Q. *Tullius Cicero*, and P. *Sulpi-*  
cius, were placed at *Cabillo* and *Matisco* upon the  
*Arar*, in the Country of the *Æduans*, to have the  
care of Provisions. He himself resolved to winter  
at *Bibraëte*. The Senate being informed of these  
things by *Cæsar's* Letters, a Procession of twenty  
Days was decreed.

# CÆSAR'S COMMENTARIES

# WARS in GAUL.

By *A. HIRTIUS PANS A.*

BOOK VIII.

## THE ARGUMENT.

*Pansa's Preface.* I. *The Gauls form a Resolution to renew the War.* II. *Cæsar falls unexpectedly upon the Biturigians, and compels them to submit.* IV. *He afterwards disperses the Carnutes by the Terror of his Arms.* V. *The Bellovaci prepare for War.* VI. *Their Designs.* VII. *Cæsar endeavours to draw them to an Engagement, by inspiring them with a Contempt of his small Numbers.* VIII. *But as they carefully avoid a Battle, he resolves to fortify his Camp.* XI. *The Bellovaci intercept the Roman Foragers.* XII. *Daily Skirmishes within view of the two Camps.* XIII. *The Bellovaci artfully counterfeited a Retreat.* XVI. *And falling upon the Romans from an Ambuscade, after an obstinate Fight, are entirely dispersed.* XVII. *The Bellovaci and other States submit.* XX. *Cæsar divides his Army.* XXI. *Caninius and Fabius relieve Duracius, besieged by Dumnacus in Limo.* XXIV. *Caninius pursues Drapes and Luterius.* XXV. *Fabius obliges the Carnutes and other States to submit.* XXVI. *Drapes and Luterius possess themselves of Uxellodunum.* XXVII. *Caninius invests the Town.* XXVIII. *Intercepts a Convoy escorted by Luterius.* XXIX. *Attacks and carries the Camp of Drapes.* XXX. *And joining the Forces under Fabius, returns to the Siege of Uxellodunum.* XXXI. *Cæsar repairs to the Camp of Caninius.* XXXIII. *And depriving the Besieged of Water, compels the Town to surrender.* XXXVII. *He then sends his Army into Winter-quarters.* XXXVIII. *Comius, defeated in an Engagement of Horse, surrenders to Antony.* XLI. *The Year following Gaul being in perfect Quiet, Cæsar goes into Italy.* XLII. *Where he is received with the highest Demonstrations of Respect.* XLIII. *He returns to the Army, where he learns the Designs formed against him at Rome.* XLVI. *And thereupon sets out again for Italy.*



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A CONTINUATION OF  
*CÆSAR's COMMENTARIES*  
 OF HIS  
 WARS in *GAUL*.

By *A. HIRTIUS PANSA*.

B O O K VIII.

**I**N consequence of your repeated Importunities, *Balbus*, I have at last been prevailed with to engage in a very delicate Work ; fearing lest my daily Refusals should be construed rather to flow from Idleness, than any sense of the Difficulty of the Undertaking. I therefore here present you with a Continuation of *Cæsar's Commentaries of his Wars in Gaul*, tho' not in any respect to be compared with what he himself wrote on the same Subject, nor with the *Memoirs of the Civil War*, which he likewise left behind him imperfect, and which I have in the same manner carried down from the Transactions at *Alexandria*, to the end, I will not say of our civil Dissensions, which are like to have no end, but of *Cæsar's Life*. I would have all who  
 read

BOOK read these Pieces know, with how much Reluctance

VIII.

I engaged in this Design ; that I may be the more easily acquitted of the Charge of Arrogance and Folly, for presuming to insert my Writings amongst those of *Cæsar*. It is universally agreed, that the most elaborate Compositions of others, fall far short of the Elegance of these Commentaries. He indeed intended them only as Memoirs for future Historians ; but they are every where in such high Esteem, as serves rather to discourage other Writers, than furnish them for the Attempt. This Circumstance the more commands our Admiration, because while the rest of the World can judge only of the Beauty and Correctness of the Work, we besides know with what Ease and Dispatch it was composed. *Cæsar* not only possessed the Talent of Writing in the highest perfection, but was likewise best able to unfold the Reasons of those military Operations, of which he was himself the Contriver and Director. On the contrary, it was my Misfortune to be present neither in the *Alexandrian* nor *African* Wars : and tho' I had many of the Particulars relating to both from his own Mouth, yet we give a very different Attention to things, when we hear them only thro' an Admiration of their Novelty and Greatness, and when with a view of transmitting them to Posterity. But I forbear any farther Apologies, lest in enumerating the Reasons why my Work ought not to be compared with that of *Cæsar*, I fall under the Suspicion of flattering myself, that in the Judgment of some, it may not seem altogether unworthy of that Honour. Adieu.

I. **G**AUL being wholly reduced, *Cæsar* was desirous that his Troops might enjoy some Repose during the Winter, especially after so long and fatiguing a Campaign, in which there had been

no Intermission from the Toils of War: but he soon understood, that several States were meditating a Revolt, and contriving all at once to take up Arms. The Cause assigned for this Conduct was not improbable: for though the *Gauls* were by this time fully sensible, that it was impossible for them to resist the *Roman* Army entire, by any Forces they could bring into the Field; yet still they thought, that if many States revolted together, and set on foot as many different Wars, the *Romans* would have neither Time nor Troops to subdue them all; and that though some among them must be Sufferers, their Lot would be the more supportable, as the Delay occasioned by that Diverſion, might procure the Liberty of the whole Nation.

BOOK  
VIII.

II. CÆSAR, to stifle this Opinion in its Birth, left *M. Antony* the Questor to command in his Winter-quarters; and setting out the last of *December* from *Bibraſte*, with a Guard of Cavalry, went to the Camp of the thirteenth Legion, which he had placed among the *Biturigians*, not far from the Territories of the *Æduans*. To this he joined the eleventh Legion, whose Quarters lay nearest; and leaving two Cohorts to guard the Baggage, marched with the rest of the Army into the most fertile Parts of the Country of the *Biturigians*; who having large Territories, and abounding in Towns, had not been awed by the presence of a single Legion, from forming Confederacies, and preparing for War.

III. CÆSAR by his sudden and unexpected Arrival, as was natural to suppose, found them unprepared and dispersed up and down the Fields; insomuch that they were easily surprised by the Horse, before they could retreat into their Towns. For he had expressly

expressly forbid setting fire to the Houses, the usual sign of an Invasion, that he might neither alarm the Enemy by the Conflagration, nor expose himself to the want of Corn and Forage, if he should advance far into the Country. Having made many thousands of the *Biturigians* Prisoners; such as could escape the first coming of the *Romans*, fled in great Terror to the neighbouring States, relying either upon private Friendship, or the Ties of a mutual Confederacy. But all was to no purpose: for *Cæsar* by great Marches soon reached their Places of Retreat, and making every Province anxious for its own Safety, left them no time to think of giving shelter to others. This Diligence confirmed the Well-affected in their Duty, and obliged the Wavering to hearken to Conditions of Peace. The like Offers were made to the *Biturigians*; who seeing that *Cæsar's* Clemency left the way still open to his Friendship; and that the neighbouring States, upon delivery of Hostages, had been pardoned and received into Protection; resolved to follow the Example. *Cæsar*, to recompense the Fatigue and Labour of his Soldiers, who in the Winter-season, through difficult Ways, and during the most intense Colds, had followed him with incredible Patience and Constancy; promised a Reward of two hundred Sesterces to every private Man, and two thousand to every Centurion: and having sent back the Legions to their Winter-quarters, returned again to *Bibracte*, after an absence of forty Days.

IV. -WHILST he was there employed in the distribution of Justice, Ambassadors arrived from the *Biturigians*, to implore his Assistance against the *Carnutes*, who were laying waste their Country. Upon this Intelligence, tho' he had not rested above  
 eighteen



eighteen Days, he immediately sent for the sixth and fourteenth Legions, which he had quartered along the *Arar* for the convenience of Provisions, as has been related in the foregoing Book. With these two Legions he marched against the *Carnutes*; who hearing of his Approach, and dreading the same Calamities which others had been made to suffer, abandoned their Towns and Villages, consisting mostly of little Cottages run up in haste, to defend them from the Cold, (for most of their Cities had been destroyed in the late War,) and fled different ways. *Cæsar*, unwilling to expose his Soldiers to the severity of the Storms, which commonly rage with the greatest Violence at that Season, fixed his Camp at *Genabum*; and lodged his Men, partly in the Huts lately built by the *Gauls*, partly in the old Houses, whose Walls were still standing, and which he ordered to be thatched with Straw, that they might afford the better shelter to the Troops. But he sent the Cavalry, and the auxiliary Foot, into all parts where he understood the Enemy were retired: nor without Success; for they commonly returned laden with Spoil. The *Carnutes* distressed by the difficulty of the Season, the sense of their Danger, (because being driven from their Habitations, they durst not continue long in any Place for fear of our Parties,) and finding no protection in the Woods against the extreme Severity of the Weather; were at length dispersed on all sides with great Loss, and scattered among the neighbouring States.

V. *Cæsar* thinking it sufficient in that difficult Season, to have dispersed the Troops that began to assemble, and prevented their rekindling the War; and being likewise well assured, as far as human Prudence could determine, that it would be impossible

BOOK fible for them, during the enfuing Summer, to raife  
 VIII. up any very dangerous War; left *C. Trebonius*, with  
 the two Legions he had brought along with him,  
 to winter at *Genabum*. Mean-while understanding  
 by frequent Embaffies from the *Rbemi*, that the *Bello-*  
*vacii*, the moft diftinguifhed for Bravery of all the  
*Belgian* and *Gallick* Nations, with fome of the  
 neighbouring States, under the Conduct of *Cor-*  
*reus* General of the *Bellovacii*, and *Comius* the  
*Atrebatian*, were raifing an Army, and drawing  
 their Forces to a general Rendezvous, with defign  
 to invade the Territories of the *Sueffiones*, a People  
 fubject to the Jurifdiction of the *Rbemi*; he thought  
 that both Honour and Interelt required him to un-  
 dertake the defence of Allies, who had deferved fo  
 well of the Commonwealth. He therefore drew  
 the eleventh Legion again out of its Winter-quar-  
 ters; wrote to *C. Fabius*, to march the two Le-  
 gions under his command into the Country of the  
*Sueffiones*; and ordered *Labienus* to fend one of thofe  
 he was charged with. Thus, as far as the conve-  
 nience of Winter-quarters, and the nature of the  
 War would allow, he employed the Legions alter-  
 nately in Expeditions, giving himfelf, mean-while,  
 no intermiffion from Fatigue.

VI. WITH thefe Forces he marched againft the  
*Bellovacii*, and encamping within their Territories,  
 difperfed his Cavalry on all fides to make Prifoners,  
 from whom he might learn the Enemy's Defigns.  
 The Horfe, in confequence of this Commiffion,  
 brought him back word, that the Lands and Houfes  
 were in a manner quite abandoned, and that the  
 few Prifoners they had found, after a moft diligent  
 Search, were not left to cultivate the Ground, but  
 to ferve as Spies. *Cæfar* enquiring of thefe, whither  
 the *Bellovacii* were retired, and what might be their  
 Defigns,

Designs, found: " That all of them capable of BOOK  
 " bearing Arms had assembled in one Place, and VIII.  
 " been joined by the *Ambiani*, *Aulerci*, *Caletes*,  
 " *Vellocasians*, and *Atrebatians*: That they had chosen  
 " for their Camp a rising Ground, surrounded with  
 " a difficult Morass, and disposed of their Baggage  
 " in remote Woods: That a great many of their  
 " Chiefs were concerned in the War, but the prin-  
 " cipal Authority rested in *Correus*, because he was  
 " known to bear an implacable hatred to the *Roman*  
 " Name: That a few Days before, *Comius* had left  
 " the Camp to solicit Aid of the *Germans*, who  
 " were their nearest Neighbours, and abounded in  
 " Troops: That it had been resolved among the  
 " *Bellovaci*, with consent of all the Generals, and  
 " at the earnest desire of the People; if *Cæsar*  
 " came at the head of only three Legions, as was  
 " reported, to offer him Battle; lest they should  
 " be afterwards obliged to fight upon harder and  
 " more unequal Terms, when he had got his whole  
 " Army together: but if he brought greater  
 " Forces along with him; to continue within their  
 " Camp, intercept his Corn and Convoys, and  
 " cut off his Forage, which in that Season of the  
 " Year was extremely scarce, and very much dis-  
 " persed."

VII. THESE things being confirmed by the Te-  
 stimony of all the Prisoners; *Cæsar*, who found their  
 Designs full of Prudence, and remote from the  
 usual Testimony of Barbarians, resolved by all man-  
 ner of ways to draw them into a Contempt of his  
 Numbers, that he might the more easily bring them  
 to an Engagement. He had with him the seventh,  
 eighth, and ninth Legions, all Veterans of approv-  
 ed Valour; and tho' the eleventh was not of equal

BOOK standing, nor had attained the same reputation of  
 VIII. Bravery, they were yet a chosen Youth of great  
 { Hopes, who had served under him eight Campaigns. Calling therefore the Army together, he laid before them the Advices he had received, and exhorted the Soldiers to preserve their wonted Courage. At the same time, to draw the Enemy to an Engagement, by an appearance of only three Legions, he so contrived the order of his March, that disposing the seventh, eighth, and ninth Legions in front ; the Baggage, which, as in a hasty Expedition, was but moderate, behind them ; and the eleventh Legion in the rear of all ; no more Troops were in view, than what the *Gauls* themselves had determined to hazard an Action against. The Army thus drawn up, formed a kind of Square, and arrived before the Enemy's Camp much sooner than expected.

VIII. WHEN the *Gauls* perceived the Legions advancing suddenly against them in order of Battle with a steady pace, they altered the Resolution which had been reported to *Cæsar* ; and either fearing the Success of the Battle, surprised at so sudden an Approach, or willing to know our further Designs, drew up before their Camp, without descending from the higher Ground. *Cæsar*, tho' desirous to come to an Engagement ; yet surprised at the Multitude of the Enemy, and reflecting on the advantage of their Situation ; as being separated from him by a Valley, still more considerable for its depth than breadth ; contented himself for the present to encamp directly over-against them. He threw up a Rampart twelve Feet high, strengthened by a proportionable Breast-work ; and secured it by two Ditches, each fifteen Feet deep, with perpendicular Sides. He likewise raised several Turrets



rets of three Stories, and joined them to each other by Galleries, having little Parapets of Osier before, that the Works might be defended by a double range of Soldiers; one of which fighting from the Galleries, and secured by their height, would with more Boldness and Advantage launch their Darts against the Enemy; the other, tho' nearer Danger, and planted upon the Rampart itself, were yet screened by the Galleries from the impending Darts. All the entrances to the Camp were secured by strong Gates, over which he placed very high Towers.

IX. HE had a twofold Design in these Fortifications: one, by the greatness of the Works, to make the Enemy believe him afraid, and thereby increase their Presumption and Confidence: the other, to enable him to defend his Camp with a few Troops, when it was necessary to go far in quest of Corn and Forage. Mean-time there happened frequent Skirmishes between the two Camps, carried on for the most part with Arrows at a distance, by reason of a Morass that separated the Combatants: sometimes indeed the auxiliary *Gauls* and *Germans* crossed the Morass, and pursued the Enemy: sometimes again the Enemy having the Advantage, passed in their turn, and drove back our Men. And as we daily sent out Parties to forage, who were obliged to disperse, and scatter themselves from house to house over the whole Country; it now and then fell out, as was unavoidable in these Circumstances, that our Foragers were surprised and cut to pieces by their Detachments. These Losses, tho' very inconsiderable to us, as being mostly confined to some Carriages and Servants, yet strangely swelled the hopes of the Barbarians; and the more, as *Comius*, who had gone to fetch the *German* Auxiliaries, was now

BOOK returned with a Body of Horse. And tho' the number was not great, they not making in all above five hundred, the Enemy were nevertheless mightily encouraged by this Supply.

X. CÆSAR, after a stay of many Days, finding that the Enemy still kept within their Camp, which was advantageously situated with a Morass in front: and considering at the same time, that he could neither force their Intrenchments without great Loss, nor inclose them with Works with so small an Army; wrote to *Trebonius*, to send with all diligence for the thirteenth Legion, which was quartered among the *Biturigians* under the care of *T. Sextius*; and with that, and the two Legions under his own Command, make what haste he could to join him. Mean-while he detached the Cavalry of *Rheims*, of the *Ligones*, and the other Provinces of *Gaul*, of which he had great numbers in his Camp, to guard by turns the Foragers, and protect them from the sudden Incurfions of the Enemy.

XI. THIS was done every Day: but Custom by degrees relaxing their Diligence, as frequently happens in things of long continuance; the *Bellovaci*, who had observed the daily Stations of our Horse, placed a chosen Body of Foot in ambush in a Wood, and sent their Cavalry thither next Day, to draw our Men into the Snare, and then attack them surrounded on every side. This ill Fortune fell upon the Cavalry of *Rheims*, whose turn it was that Day to guard the Foragers: for these, suddenly discovering the Enemy's Cavalry, and despising their small numbers, pursued with such Eagerness, that they were at length surpris'd and surrounded by the Foot. This threw them into Confusion, and oblig'd them to retreat hastily, with the loss of *Vertiscus* their

their General, and the chief Man of their State ; BOOK  
VIII.  
 who tho' so far advanced in years, that he could hardly sit on Horseback, yet according to the custom of the *Gauls*, would neither decline the Command on account of his Age, nor suffer them to fight without him. The Enemy were animated and encouraged by this Success, and the Death of the Chief and General of the *Rhemi* : our Men, on the other hand, were cautioned by their Loss, carefully to examine the Ground before they took their Posts, and pursue a retreating Enemy with more reserve.

XII. MEAN-WHILE the daily Skirmishes between the two Camps, at the Fords and Passes of the Morafs, still continued. In one of these, the *Germans*, whom *Cæsar* had brought from beyond the *Rhine*, that they might fight intermingled with the Cavalry ; boldly passing the Morafs in a Body, put all that made resistance to the Sword, and pursued the rest with great Vigour. Fear not only seized those who fought hand to hand, or were wounded at a distance ; but even the more remote Parties, who were posted to sustain the others, shamefully betook themselves to flight ; and being driven from height to height, ceased not to continue the Rout, until they had reached their very Camp : nay some, quite confounded by their Fear, fled a great way beyond it. Their Danger spread so universal a Terror among the Troops, that it appeared hard to say, whether they were more apt to be elated by a trifling Advantage, or depressed by an inconsiderable Loss.

XIII. AFTER a stay of many Days in this Camp : upon Information that *C. Trebonius* was approaching with the Legions ; the Generals of the *Bellorari*, fearing a Siege like that of *Alesia*, sent away by night all whom Age or Infirmities rendered unfit

BOOK for Service ; and along with them the Baggage of  
 VIII. the whole Army. But before this confused and numerous Train could be put in order, (for the *Gauls*, even in their sudden Expeditions, are always attended with a vast number of Carriages,) Day-light appeared ; and the Enemy were obliged to draw up before their Camp, to hinder the *Romans* from disturbing the March of their Baggage. *Cæsar* did not think proper to attack them in so advantageous a Post, nor was willing to remove his Legions to such a distance, as might give them an Opportunity of retreating without Danger. Observing therefore that the two Camps were divided by a very dangerous Morafs, the difficulty of passing which might greatly retard the Pursuit ; and that beyond the Morafs there was an Eminence, which in a manner commanded the Enemy's Camp, and was separated from it only by a small Valley ; he laid Bridges over the Morafs, passed his Legions, and quickly gained the summit of the Hill, which was secured on each side by the steepness of the ascent. Thence he marched his Legions in order of Battle to the extremest Ridge, and posted them in a place, where his Engines could play upon the Enemy's Battalions.

XIV. THE *Gauls* confiding in the strength of their Post, resolved not to decline a Battle, if the *Romans* should attack them on the Hill ; and not daring to make their Troops file off, for fear of being charged when separated and in disorder, continued in the same posture. *Cæsar* perceiving their Obstinacy, kept twenty Cohorts already drawn up ; and marking out a Camp in the place where he then stood, ordered it to be fortified immediately. The Works being finished, he drew up his Legions before the Rampart, and assigned the Cavalry their several



veral Posts, where they were to wait with their BOOK  
Horses ready bridled. The *Bellovaci* seeing the VIII.  
*Romans* prepared for the Pursuit; and finding it im-  
possible to pass the Night, or continue longer in  
that Place without Provisions, fell upon the follow-  
ing Stratagem to secure their Retreat. They col-  
lected and placed at the head of their Line all the  
Fascines in the Camp, of which the number was  
very great, (for, as has been already observed, the  
*Gauls* commonly sit upon these, when drawn up in  
order of Battle,) and towards Night, upon a Sig-  
nal given, set fire to them all at once. The Flame  
blazing out on a sudden, with great violence, co-  
vered their Forces from the view of the *Romans*;  
and the *Gauls* laying hold of that Opportunity, re-  
treated with the utmost Diligence.

XV. THO' *Cæsar* could not perceive the Enemy's  
departure, because of the Flames; yet suspecting  
that this was only a Contrivance to cover their Flight,  
he made the Legions advance, and detached the  
Cavalry to pursue them. Mean-while apprehend-  
ing an Ambuscade, and that the Enemy might per-  
haps continue in the same Post, to draw our Men  
into a place of Disadvantage, he took care to follow  
slowly with the Foot. The Cavalry not daring to  
enter that thick Column of Flame and Smoke; or  
if any had the Courage to adventure it, being un-  
able to discern the very Heads of their Horses,  
thought proper to retire for fear of a Surprise, and  
left the *Bellovaci* at full liberty to escape. Thus by  
a Flight, which equally spoke their Fear and Ad-  
dress, they retreated ten Miles without loss, and en-  
camped in a place of great Advantage. Thence,  
by frequent Ambuscades of Horse and Foot, they  
often attacked and cut to pieces the *Roman* Fo-  
ragers.

BOOK XVI. CÆSAR having received many Losses of  
 VIII. this kind, understood at last by a certain Prisoner,  
 that *Correus* General of the *Bellovaci*, had chosen six  
 thousand of his best Foot, and a thousand Horse,  
 to form an Ambuscade in a Place abounding in  
 Corn and Grass, and where it was therefore presum-  
 ed the *Romans* would come to forage. Upon this  
 Intelligence, he drew out a greater number of Le-  
 gionaries than usual; sent the Cavalry, who formed  
 the ordinary Guard of the Foragers, before; inter-  
 mixed them with Platoons of light-armed Foot;  
 and advanced himself as near as possible with the  
 Legions. The Enemy, who lay in ambush, hav-  
 ing chosen for the place of Action a Plain of about  
 a Mile every way, and environed on all sides with  
 thick Woods, or a very deep River, which inclos-  
 ed it as in a Toil, disposed their Forces all around.  
 Our Men, who knew their Design, and advanced  
 armed and resolved for Battle, because the Legions  
 were behind to sustain them, entered the Plain troop  
 by troop. Upon their Arrival, *Correus* thinking  
 that now was the proper time for Action, appeared  
 first with a few of his Men, and fell upon the nearest  
 Squadrons. Our Men resolutely sustained the At-  
 tack, nor flocked together in Crowds, as frequently  
 happens among the Cavalry on Occasions of sud-  
 den Surprise, when the very number of Combat-  
 ants throws all into Confusion. The Squadrons  
 fighting thus in good Order, and preserving a pro-  
 per distance, to prevent their being taken in flank;  
 suddenly the rest of the *Gauls* broke from the Woods,  
 and advanced to the aid of those who fought under  
*Correus*. The Contest was carried on with great  
 Heat, and continued for a long time with equal  
 Advantage on both sides: when at last the Foot  
 advancing slowly in order of Battle from the Woods,  
 obliged

obliged our Men to give way. Upon this the light-armed Infantry, who, as we have observed, had been sent before the Legions, marched up speedily to their Assistance; and placing themselves in the intervals of the Squadrons, continued the Fight. The Contest again became equal. At length, as was natural in an Encounter of that kind, those who had sustained the first Charge of the Ambuscade, began for this very Reason to have the Superiority, because the Enemy had gained no Advantage over them. Mean-while the Legions approached, and both sides had notice at the same time that *Cæsar* was advancing with his Forces in order of Battle. Our Troops, animated by this Hope, redoubled their Efforts; lest by pushing the Enemy too slowly, the Legions should have time to come in for a share of the Victory. The Enemy, on the contrary, lost Courage, and fled different ways. But in vain: for the very Difficulties of the Ground, by which they hoped to have ensnared the *Romans*, served now to entangle themselves. Being at last vanquished and repulsed, with the loss of the best part of their Men, they fled in great terror whither Chance directed; some towards the Woods, some towards the River. The *Romans* urged the Pursuit with great keenness, and put many to the Sword. Mean-while *Correus*, whose Resolution no Misfortune could abate, would neither quit the Fight, and retire to the Woods; nor accept of any offers of Quarter from our Men: but fighting on to the last with invincible Courage, and wounding many of the victorious Troops, constrained them at length to transfix him with their Javelins.

XVII. AFTER this Action; *Cæsar* coming up just as the Battle was ended; and naturally supposing, that the Enemy, upon Intelligence of so considerable

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considerable a Defeat, would immediately abandon their Camp, which was not above eight Miles distant from the place of Slaughter : tho' he saw his March obstructed by the River, he passed it notwithstanding, and advanced with his Forces against them. But the *Bellovaci*, and the other States in their Alliance, hearing of their Disaster by some of the Runaways, who, tho' wounded, found means to escape under cover of the Woods ; and finding that every thing was against them, their General slain, their Cavalry and the flower of their Infantry destroyed, and the *Romans* doubtless upon the March to attack them : speedily assembling a Council by sound of Trumpet, demanded with great Cries, that Ambassadors and Hostages might be sent to *Cæsar*.

XVIII. THIS Proposal being approved by all, *Comius* the *Atrebatian* fled to the *Germans*, whose Assistance he had obtained in the War. The rest immediately dispatched Ambassadors to *Cæsar*, and requested : “ That he would regard their present  
“ Sufferings as a sufficient Punishment for their Re-  
“ volt, since they were such, as his Humanity and  
“ Clemency would never have suffered him to in-  
“ flict upon them, had he compelled them to sub-  
“ mit entire and without fighting : That their  
“ Power was utterly broken by the late Defeat of  
“ their Cavalry : That several thousands of their  
“ best Infantry were destroyed, scarce enough be-  
“ ing left to bring them news of the Disaster :  
“ That yet in so great a Calamity, it was no small  
“ Advantage to the *Bellovaci*, that *Correus*, the  
“ Author of the War, who had stirred up the  
“ Multitude to revolt, was killed ; because while  
“ he lived, the headstrong Populace would always  
“ have had more Authority in the State than the  
“ Senate.”



“ Senate.” The Ambassadors having ended their Speech, *Cæsar* put them in mind : “ That the Year before, the *Bellovaci* had, in conjunction with the other States of *Gaul*, taken up Arms against the *Romans*: That of all the Confederates they had persisted with the greatest Obstinacy in their Revolt, nor been induced by the Submission of the rest to hearken to Reason: That nothing was easier than to lay the blame of their Misconduct upon the dead ; but they would find it difficult to make him believe, that a single Man could have so much Influence, as in spite of the opposition of the Nobility and Senate, and the Efforts of all good Men, to stir up and support a War, by the mere Authority of the Multitude: That however, he would be satisfied for the present with the Punishment they had brought upon themselves.”

XIX. NEXT Night the Deputies returned with *Cæsar*'s Answer, and Hostages were immediately sent to the *Roman* Camp. The Deputies of the other States, who only waited the Event of this Treaty, immediately flocked to *Cæsar*, gave Hostages, and submitted to his Commands. *Comius* alone would not hear of treating, from a particular Distrust of the *Romans*. For the Year before, while *Cæsar* was employed in the Affairs of *Cisalpine Gaul*, *Labienus* understanding that *Comius* was soliciting several States to rebel, and join in a Confederacy against the *Romans* ; thought it might be allowed him to use Perfidy towards the Perfidious. And because he expected to be refused, should he send for him to the Camp ; that he might not by an unsuccessful Attempt put him upon his Guard, he employed *C. Volusenus Quadratus*, to kill him under pretence of an Interview ; furnishing him with some

BOOK some chosen Centurions for that Purpose. When  
 VIII. the Interview began; and *Volusenus*, by way of signal, had taken *Comius* by the Hand; one of the Centurions, as if surpris'd at a Step so unusual, attempted to kill him; but *Comius's* Friends hastily interposing, he was prevented: however, the first Blow wounded him severely on the Head. Both sides immediately drew, not so much with a Design to engage, as to retire: our Men, because they believed *Comius* mortally wounded; the *Gauls*, because discovering the intended Treachery, they apprehended the Danger to be greater than as yet appeared. From that time *Comius* determin'd never to be in the same Place with any *Roman*.

XX. CÆSAR having thus subdued the most warlike Nations of *Gaul*, and finding no State dispos'd to take up Arms, or make Resistance; but that only some few had left their Towns and Possessions, to avoid present Subjection; resolv'd to divide his Army into several Bodies. *M. Antony* the Questor, with the eleventh Legion, had Orders to continue with him. *C. Fabius* was sent at the Head of twenty-five Cohorts, into the remotest Parts of *Gaul*; because he understood some States were in Arms on that side, whom *C. Caninius Rebilus*, his Lieutenant, who commanded in those Provinces, was scarcely strong enough to oppose with only two Legions. He then sent for *T. Labienus*, and order'd the twelfth Legion, which he commanded, into *Gallia Togata*, to protect the *Roman* Colonies there, that they might not suffer by the Incursions of the Barbarians, as had happen'd the Year before to the *Fergestini*, whose Territories had been plundered by a sudden and unexpected Invasion. He himself march'd to ravage and lay waste the Territories of *Ambiorix*: for finding it impossible to lay hold on that perfidious

ous

ous *Gaul*, whose Fear prompted him to fly continually before him; he thought it behoved him, in regard to his own Dignity, so effectually to ruin the Country, by destroying his Towns, Cattle, and Subjects, as might render him odious to his Followers, if any still remained, and deprive him of all hope of being restored to his Possessions. Having spread his Legions and Auxiliaries over the whole Country of *Ambiorix*, destroyed all with Fire and Sword, and either killed or made Prisoners an infinite number of People; he dispatched *Labienus*, with two Legions, against the *Treviri*; whose Country, bordering upon *Germany*, and exercised in continual Wars, differed little from the Temper and Fierceness of that Nation; nor ever submitted to his Commands, unless enforced by the Presence of an Army.

XXI. MEAN-TIME *C. Caninius*, Lieutenant-general, understanding by Letters and Messengers from *Duracius*, who had always continued faithful to the *Romans*, even in the Defection of many of his own State; that great Numbers of the Enemy were assembled in the Territories of the *Pictones*; marched towards the Town of *Limo*. Upon his Arrival there, having certain Information from some Prisoners, that *Duracius* was shut up and besieged in *Limo*, by a great Army of *Gauls*, under the Conduct of *Dumnacus*, General of the *Andes*; as he was not strong enough to attack the Enemy, he encamped in a Place of great Advantage. *Dumnacus* hearing of his Approach, turned all his Forces against the Legions, and resolved to invest the *Roman* Camp. But after many Days spent in the Attack, and the loss of a great number of Men, without any Impression made upon the Intrenchments, he returned again to the Siege of *Limo*.

BOOK XXII. AT the same time *C. Fabius*, having  
 VIII. brought over many States to their Duty, and confirmed their Submission by receiving Hostages ; upon Intelligence sent him by *Caninius*, of the Posture of Affairs among the *Piætones*, marched immediately to the Assistance of *Duracius*. *Dumnacus* hearing of his Arrival, and concluding himself lost, should he at the same time be obliged to make head against an Enemy without, and sustain the Efforts of the Townsmen within ; suddenly decamped with all his Forces, resolving not to stop till he had got on the other side of the *Loire*, which, by reason of its largeness, could not be passed without a Bridge. *Fabius*, tho' he had neither as yet come within sight of the Enemy, nor joined Forces with *Caninius* ; yet instructed by those who were well acquainted with the Country, easily conjectured the Rout the *Gauls* would take. Wherefore directing his March towards the same Bridge, he ordered the Cavalry to keep before the Legions ; yet so, that without too much fatiguing their Horses, they might return and encamp with them again at Night. The Cavalry followed the Enemy as directed ; came up with their Rear ; and attacking them flying, dismayed, and incumbered with their Baggage ; killed great Numbers, gained a considerable Booty, and returned in triumph to the Camp.

XXIII. THE Night following *Fabius* sent the Cavalry before, with Orders to engage the Enemy, and keep their whole Army employed, till he himself should come up with the Legions. *Q. Atilius Varus*, a prudent and experienced Officer, who had the Charge of the Detachment, desirous to execute the Commands of his General with success, exhorted his Men ; and coming up with the Enemy, disposed



posed some Squadrons in the most convenient Places, and engaged the *Gauls* with the rest. The Enemy's Cavalry made a resolute Stand, being supported by their Foot, who halting in a Body, advanced to the Assistance of their own Men. The Conflict was sharp on both sides. For the *Romans*, despising Enemies whom they had overcome the Day before, and remembering that the Legions were coming up to join them; partly ashamed to give way, partly eager to bring the Battle to a speedy Issue by their own Valour alone, fought with great Bravery against the Enemy's Foot. And the *Gauls*, who had no Apprehension of the Approach of more Forces, because none other had appeared the Day before, fancied they had now a favourable Opportunity of cutting off our Cavalry. As the Fight continued with great Obstinacy for a considerable time; *Dumnacus* advanced with the Foot in Battle-array, to sustain the Horse: when suddenly the Legions, marching in close order, appeared within view of the Enemy. This Sight discomposed the *Gallick* Squadrons, and producing an universal Confusion thro' their whole Army, which spread even to the Baggage and Carriages; they with great Up-roar and Tumult betook themselves to a precipitate Flight. But our Horse, who a little before had fought against an Enemy that vigorously opposed them; now elated with the Joy of Victory, surrounded them with great Cries, and urged the Slaughter as far as the Strength of their Horses to pursue, and the Vigour of their right Hands to destroy, were able to bear them out. Upwards of twelve thousand perished on this occasion, partly in the Battle, partly in the Pursuit; and the whole Baggage was taken.

BOOK XXIV. AFTER this Rout, *Drapes*, of the Na-  
 VIII. tion of the *Senones* (who upon the first Revolt of  
 { *Gaul* had drawn together a Band of desperate Men,  
 invited Slaves to join him by the hopes of Liberty,  
 assembled all the Fugitives he could find, received  
 even publick Robbers into his Service, and with  
 that profligate Crew intercepted the *Roman* Convoys  
 and Baggage) having rallied about five thousand of  
 the Runaways, directed his March towards the Pro-  
 vince; being joined by *Luterius* of *Quercy*, who, as  
 we have seen in the foregoing Book, had attempted  
 an Invasion on that side at the first breaking out of  
 the War. *Caninius* having notice of this Design,  
 marched in pursuit of them with two Legions, to  
 prevent any Alarm in those Parts, and hinder the  
 Province from falling a Prey to the Ravages of a  
 desperate and needy Crew.

XXV. *FABIUS*, with the rest of his Army,  
 marched against the *Carnutes*, and other States,  
 whose Forces had served under *Dumnacus* in the late  
 Action: for he made no doubt of finding them  
 humbled by so great a Blow; and was unwilling,  
 by any Delay, to give *Dumnacus* an Opportunity of  
 rousing them to a continuance of the War. In this  
 Expedition *Fabius* had all the Success he could de-  
 sire, the several States submitting immediately upon  
 his Approach. For the *Carnutes*, who tho' often  
 harraßed, had never yet made mention of Peace;  
 now surrendered and gave Hostages: and the other  
 States, inhabiting the more remote Parts of *Gaul*,  
 bordering upon the Ocean, and known by the  
 Name of *Armorica*, influenced by their Authority,  
 and the Arrival of *Fabius* and his Legions, readily  
 accepted the Terms he offered them. *Dumnacus*,  
 expelled his Territories, and forced to wander and  
 hide

hide himself in lurking Holes; at length escaped into the farthest Parts of *Gaul*. BOOK  
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XXVI. But *Drapes* and *Luterius*, understanding that *Caninius* was in pursuit of them with the Legions; and sensible, that having an Army at their Heels, they could not without certain Destruction make an Irruption into the Province, nor safely indulge themselves in the liberty of plundering and ravaging the Country; halted in the Territories of the *Cadurci*. As *Luterius*, during his Prosperity, had bore a considerable Sway in the State, and been always in great Reputation with the Multitude, as the Author of new and enterprising Counsels; he seized upon *Uxellodunum*, a Town strongly fortify'd by Nature, which had formerly been under his Patronage; and prevailed with the Inhabitants to join his and *Drapes's* Forces.

XXVII. CANINIUS soon arrived before the Place, which he found surrounded on every side with steep Rocks, so very difficult of Access, that it was hardly possible for armed Troops to ascend them, even where there were no Opposers. But knowing that there was a vast Quantity of Baggage in the Town, which could not be conveyed away so privately as to escape the Legions, much less the Cavalry, he divided his Army into three Bodies; and encamping on three remarkable Eminences, resolved gradually, and as the Number of his Troops would allow, to carry a Line of Circumvallation quite round the Town. Which the Garrison perceiving, began to dread the Fate of their Countrymen at *Alesia*, especially *Luterius*, who had been present at that formidable Siege, and therefore advised them to lay in store of Corn. Accordingly, they resolved with unanimous Consent, to leave Part of the Forces to

BOOK defend the Town, and march out with the rest to  
 VIII. fetch Provisions. This Resolution being taken, the  
 following Night *Luterius* and *Drapes*, leaving two  
 thousand Men in the Place, marched at the head of  
 all the rest. These, in a few Days, drew together  
 a vast Quantity of Corn in the Territories of the  
*Cadurci*, who partly stood inclined to assist them in  
 their present Exigence, partly were unable to hin-  
 der their carrying it off. Sometimes they attacked  
 our Posts by Night, which made *Caninius* delay the  
 Circumvallation of the Town, fearing he would  
 not be able to defend the Line, or man it sufficient-  
 ly in all Parts.

XXVIII. *LUTERIUS* and *Drapes* having got a  
 great Quantity of Corn, took up their Quarters  
 about ten Miles from the Town, that they might  
 convey it thither by Degrees. Each chose his par-  
 ticular Part : *Drapes* stayed behind with Part of the  
 Army to guard the Camp : *Luterius* set forward  
 with the Convoy. Having disposed Parties along  
 the Road for the greater Security, he began his  
 March towards the Town about four in the Morn-  
 ing, by narrow Ways thro' the Woods. But our  
 Sentinels hearing a Noise, and Intelligence being  
 brought by the Scouts of what was a doing, *Can-  
 inius* speedily drew some Cohorts together from the  
 nearest Posts, and fell upon the Convoy about Day-  
 break ; who surpris'd at so unexpected an Attack,  
 retreated towards their Guard. Our Men per-  
 ceiving this, fell with redoubled Fury upon the  
 Escort, giving Quarter to none. *Luterius* escaped  
 with a few Followers, but returned not to the  
 Camp.

XXIX. *CANINIUS* having succeeded in this Ac-  
 tion, understood from the Prisoners that *Drapes* was  
 encamped



encamped about ten Miles off with the rest of the Army. This being confirmed from many Hands; as he supposed it would be easy to overwhelm them, after the Terror occasioned by the Defeat of one of their Leaders, he thought it very fortunate, that none of the Fugitives had retreated towards the Camp, to inform *Drapes* of the Disaster. As there was therefore no hazard in the Attempt, he ordered all the Cavalry, with the *German* Infantry, who were of remarkable Swiftneſs, to advance before; and having diſtributed one Legion into his three Camps, followed them with the other without Baggage. As he drew near the Enemy, he was informed by his Scouts, whom he had ſent before, that the *Gauls*, according to Cuſtom, had pitched their Camp at the foot of a Mountain by a River-ſide, and that the *German* Foot, and Cavalry, coming ſuddenly and unexpectedly upon them, had begun the Fight. Upon this Intelligence, he brought forward the Legion in order of Battle, and giving the Signal of Onſet, ſoon poſſeſſed himſelf of the higher Ground. The *Germans*, and Cavalry, encouraged by the Enſigns of the Legions, redoubled their Efforts. The Cohorts threw themſelves in Crowds upon the Enemy, and having either ſlain or made them all Priſoners, obtained a conſiderable Booty. *Drapes* himſelf was taken in the Battle.

XXX. CANINIUS, after ſo fortunate an Action, in which ſcarce any of his Soldiers had been wounded, returned to the Siege of *Uxellodunum*. Having got rid of the Enemy without, who had obliged him to augment his Garrifons, and poſtponed the Works about the Place, he now reſumed them with great Diligence, and was the next Day joined by *Fabius* and his Forces, who undertook one ſide of the Town.

BOOK XXXI. MEAN-TIME *Cæsar*, leaving *M. Antony*  
 VIII. the Questor, with fifteen Cohorts in the Country of  
 the *Bellovaci*, to prevent any new Insurrections  
 among the *Belgians*; marched himself into other  
 States, to enjoin Hostages, and allay their Fears.  
 When he arrived among the *Carnutes*, by whom the  
 War was first begun, as *Cæsar* has mentioned in the  
 preceding Book; observing that they in a particular  
 manner dreaded his Resentment, from a consciou-  
 ness of their Guilt; that he might the sooner free  
 them from their Fears, he desired them to deliver up  
 to Justice *Guturvatus*, the prime Mover and Incen-  
 diary of that War; who, tho' he hid himself even  
 from his own Countrymen, yet being diligently  
 sought after by a whole People, was soon brought  
 to *Cæsar's* Camp. *Cæsar*, contrary to his natural  
 Clemency, was constrained to give him up to Pu-  
 nishment by his Soldiers, who imputed to *Guturva-*  
*tus* all the Losses they had sustained, and all the  
 Dangers they had been exposed to during the War.  
 Accordingly he was scourged and beheaded.

XXXII. HERE he was informed by frequent Ad-  
 vices from *Caninius*, of the Defeat of *Drapes* and  
*Luterius*, and the Resolution taken by the Garrison  
 of *Uxellodunum*. Tho' he despised them on account  
 of the smallness of their Number, he yet thought  
 their Obstinacy deserved the severest Chastisement;  
 that *Gaul* might not run into a Persuasion, that not  
 Strength but Constancy had been wanting, to en-  
 able them to resist the *Romans*; which might perhaps  
 induce other States, who had the Advantage of  
 strong Towns, to assert their Liberty; it being  
 universally known in *Gaul*, that only one Year of  
 his Government remained; during which, if they  
 could but hold out, they had no farther Danger to  
 appre-

apprehend. Leaving therefore the two Legions he had then with him to the care of *Q. Calenus* his Lieutenant, with Orders to follow him by easy Marches; he himself, at the head of all the Cavalry, hastened to *Uxellodunum*, to forward the Siege begun by *Caninius*.

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XXXIII. He arrived before the Town, unexpected either by his own Troops, or those of the Enemy; saw the Circumvallation compleated; and that there was no quitting the Siege without Dishonour: but understanding from the Deserters, that the Place was well stored with Provisions, he resolved, if possible, to cut off their Water. *Uxellodunum* stood upon a steep Rock, surrounded almost on every side by a very deep Valley, thro' which ran a River. There was no possible way of turning the Course of this Stream; because it flowed by the Foot of the Rock in so low a Channel, that Ditches could not be sunk deep enough to receive it. But the Descent was so difficult and steep, that the Townsmen in coming to and returning from it, lay greatly exposed to our Troops, who might wound and kill them at Pleasure. This being known to *Cæsar*, he posted his Archers and Slingers, with some Engines, over-against the Places of easiest Access, and thereby hindered their Approach to the River. This obliged the whole Multitude to water at one Place, close under the Walls of the Town, whence issued a very plentiful Fountain, on the side where the River intermitted its Circuit, and left an Opening of about three hundred Foot. The whole Army were desirous to deprive the Besieged of this Resource; but *Cæsar* alone discovered the means of effecting it. He brought forward his Galleries, and began a Terrass over-against the Mountain, with much Danger to the Soldiers, incredible Fa-

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tigue, and a continued Series of Fighting. For the Garrison rushing furiously upon us from the higher Ground, charged without Danger, and wounded great Numbers of our Men; as they advanced obstinately to the Combat; yet without deterring them from bringing forward their Machines, and by their Works and Assiduity surmounting the Difficulties of the Ground. At the same time they carried on their Mines, from the Terrass and Galleries, quite to the Fountain; a kind of Work in which they proceeded without Danger or Suspicion. A Terrass was raised sixty Foot high, and a Tower of ten Stories placed upon it; not indeed to equal the Height of the Walls, for which no Works were sufficient; but to command the top of the Spring. From this Tower we were continually playing our Engines upon all the Accesses to the Fountain, which made it extremely dangerous to water at the Place; infomuch that not only Cattle and Beasts of Carriage, but great Numbers of People perished by Thirst.

XXXIV. THE Enemy, terrified at this Disaster, filled several Barrels with Tallow, Pitch, and dry Wood; and having set them on Fire, rolled them down upon the Works. At the same time they charged the *Romans* with great Fury, that the Anxiety and Danger of the Battle might hinder them from extinguishing the Flames. The Conflagration soon became general: for whatever was rolled down from above, being stopped by the Machines and Terrass, communicated the Flame to that Part. But our Solders, tho' engaged in a dangerous kind of Fight, because of the Inequality of the Ground, yet bore all with great Firmness and Resolution. For the Action was in a conspicuous Place, within view of our Army, and great Shouts were raised on

both



both sides. Thus every one was the more ardent **BOOK**  
 to signalize himself, and brave the Flames and **VIII.**  
 Darts of the Enemy, as his Bravery would be bet-  
 ter known, and have the Testimony of many Wit-  
 nesses.

**XXXV.** CÆSAR seeing many of his Soldiers wounded, ordered the Cohorts to ascend the Mountain on all sides, and as if preparing to scale the Walls, raise a mighty Shout. This alarmed the Inhabitants, who not knowing what passed in other Parts, recalled their Troops from the Attack, and disposed them along the Walls. Thus our Men, being relieved from the Battle, soon found means to extinguish or put a stop to the Flames. But as the Besieged still continued to defend themselves with great Obstinacy, and notwithstanding the loss of the greatest Part of their Number by Thirst, persisted in their first Resolution; *Cæsar* at last contrived to drain or avert the Spring by Mines. Upon this the Fountain suddenly becoming dry, so effectually deprived the Besieged of all hopes of Safety, that they imagined it an Event brought about, not by human Counsel, but by the Will of the Gods; and therefore, compelled by Necessity, immediately surrendered themselves.

**XXXVI.** CÆSAR conscious that his Clemency was known to all, and no way fearing that his Severity on this Occasion would be imputed to any Cruelty of Nature; as he perceived there would be no end of the War, if other States in different Parts of *Gaul*, should in like manner form the Design of a Revolt; resolved, by a signal Example of Punishment, to deter them from all such Projects. He therefore cut off the Hands of all whom he found in Arms; granting them their Lives, that their

BOOK VIII. Punishment might be the more conspicuous. *Drapes*, who, as we have said, had been made Prisoner by *Caninius*; either out of Indignation at finding himself a Captive, or dreading a severer Fate, put an end to his Life by abstaining from Food. At the same time *Luterius*, who had escaped out of the Battle, falling into the hands of *Epasnatius* of *Auvergne*, (for by continually removing from place to place, he was obliged to confide in many, because he could stay no where long without Danger, and knew the little Reason he had to expect Favour from *Cæsar*;) was by him, a great favourer of the Roman People, delivered without hesitation bound to *Cæsar*.

XXXVII. In the mean-time *Labienus* engaged the Cavalry of the *Treviri* with Success: and having killed a considerable number on the spot, as likewise many *Germans*, who were always ready to join against the *Romans*; made the greatest part of their Chiefs Prisoners; and among the rest *Surus* the *Æduan*, a Nobleman of distinguished Birth and Valour, and the only one of that Nation, who had continued until then in Arms. Upon notice of this Victory, *Cæsar*, who saw his Affairs in a flourishing Condition in *Gaul*, and that his last Campaigns had completed the subjection of the whole Country; resolved upon a Journey to *Aquitain*, where he had never yet been in person, though *P. Crassus* had in part reduced it to his Obedience. He therefore set out for that Country with two Legions, designing to spend there the rest of the Campaign. This Expedition was attended with the desired Success; for all the States of *Aquitain* sent Ambassadors to him, and delivered Hostages. He then went with a Guard of Cavalry to *Narbonne*, and distributed his Army into Winter-quarters under the care of his

his Lieutenants. *M. Antony*, *C. Trebonius*, *P. Vatinus*, and *Q. Tullius*, were quartered in *Belgium* with four Legions. Two were sent into the Country of the *Aduans*, whom he knew to be the most powerful People in *Gaul*: two into that of the *Turones*, bordering upon the *Carnutes*, to hold the maritime States in awe: and the remaining two were stationed among the *Lemovices*, not far from *Auvergne*, that none of the Provinces of *Gaul* might be destitute of Troops. He remained some Days at *Narbonne*, held all the usual Assemblies of the Province, decided the differences subsisting among the People, recompensed those who had distinguished themselves by their faithful Services; (for he had a wonderful Faculty of discerning how Men stood affected in the general Revolt of *Gaul*, which he had been able to sustain, merely by the Fidelity and Assistance of the Province;) and having dispatched all these Affairs, repaired to the Legions in *Belgium*, and took up his Winter-quarters at *Nemetocenna*.

XXXVIII. HERE he was informed that *Comius* of *Arras* had had an Engagement with his Cavalry. For after the Arrival of *Antony* in his Winter-quarters; as the *Atrebatians*, awed by his presence, continued in their Duty to *Cæsar*: *Comius*, who ever since the Wound above-mentioned had kept a watchful Eye upon all the Motions of his Countrymen, that in case of a War, he might be ready to offer them his Counsel and Assistance; finding that the State now submitted quietly to the *Romans*, applied his Troops to support himself and his Followers by Plunder; and often carried off the Convoys that were going to the *Roman* Winter-quarters.

XXXIX. AMONG those who commanded under *Antony* in his Winter-quarters was *C. Volusenus Quadratus*,



**BOOK** *dratus*, an Officer of the first Rank among the  
**VIII.** Horse. Him *Antony* sent in pursuit of the Enemy's  
 Cavalry. *Volusenus*, to his natural Bravery, which  
 he possessed in an eminent degree, added a particular  
 hatred of *Comius*, which induced him the more  
 readily to accept of this Commission. Accordingly,  
 having planted his Ambuscades, he found means  
 frequently to engage the Enemy, and always came  
 off victorious. At last, a very warm Dispute en-  
 suing; and *Volusenus*, thro' an eager desire of mak-  
 ing *Comius* Prisoner, urging the Chace with only  
 a few Attendants; while *Comius*, by a hasty Re-  
 treat, drew him a considerable way from his Party:  
 suddenly the latter, invoking the Assistance of his  
 Followers, called upon them to revenge the Wound  
 he had treacherously received from the *Romans*; and  
 turning short upon our Detachment, advanced  
 without Precaution towards *Volusenus*. All his  
 Cavalry did the same, and soon put our small Party  
 to flight. *Comius* clapping spurs to his Horse, ran  
 furiously against *Quadratus*, and drove his Lance  
 thro' his Thigh. Our Men seeing their Comman-  
 der wounded, instantly faced about, and forced the  
 Enemy to give ground. In this last Attack, the  
*Gauls*, after a considerable Slaughter, were entirely  
 routed by the vigorous Charge of our Cavalry.  
 Some were troden to death in the Pursuit, others  
 made Prisoners; but *Comius* escaped by the swiftness  
 of his Horse. *Volusenus* being dangerously wound-  
 ed, almost beyond hope of recovery, was carried  
 back to the Camp. *Comius*, either satisfied with  
 the Revenge he had taken, or apprehensive he must  
 at last be ruined, as he continually lost some of his  
 Men; sent a Deputation to *Antony*, offering to re-  
 tire wherever he should order him; to submit to  
 whatever should be imposed on him, and to give  
 Hostages for the performance of these Conditions:



he only requested, that so much regard might be shewn to his just Fears, as not to have it insisted on that he should appear before any *Roman*. *Antony*, conscious that his Apprehensions were but too well grounded, excused him, took Hostages, and granted him Peace.

BOOK  
VIII.

*CÆSAR*, I know, assigns a distinct Book to each of his several Campaigns. But I have not judged it necessary to pursue this Method; because the ensuing Year, under the Consulship of *L. Paulus*, and *C. Marcellus*, furnishes nothing memorable transacted in *Gaul*. However, that none may be ignorant where *Cæsar* and his Army were during this time, I have subjoined a short account to the present Commentary.

**XL.** *CÆSAR*, during the time of his Winter-quarters in *Belgium*, made it his whole study to ingratiate himself with the *Gauls*, and deprive them of all Pretence or Colour for a Revolt. For there was nothing he more earnestly desired, than to leave *Gaul* peaceably disposed at his departure; lest, when he was about to withdraw his Army, any sparks of Rebellion should remain, which would infallibly rekindle into a War, were the *Roman* Troops once removed. Wherefore, by treating the several States with respect, liberally rewarding their Chiefs, and abstaining from the Imposition of new Burdens, he easily prevailed with the *Gauls*, wearied and exhausted by long unsuccessful Wars, to embrace the ease and quiet attendant on their present Submission.

**XLI.** The Winter being over, contrary to his Custom, he posted by great Journeys into *Italy*, to visit the municipal Towns and Colonies of *Cisalpine Gaul*,

BOOK VIII. *Gaul*, and engage their Interest in favour of *M. Antony* his Questor, who was then a Candidate for the Priesthood. He the more warmly interested himself in this Affair, not only as it was in behalf of a Man united to him by the strictest ties of Friendship, but as it likewise gave him an Opportunity of opposing a small Faction, who aimed to diminish *Cæsar's* Credit by repulsing *Antony*. Altho' he heard upon the Road, before he reached *Italy*, that *Antony* had been made Augur; he still thought it incumbent upon him to visit the municipal Towns and Colonies of the Province, in order to thank them for the Zeal they had shown in behalf of his Friend, and to recommend them his own Petition for the Consulship of the ensuing Year. For his Enemies every where boasted, that *L. Lentulus* and *C. Marcellus* had been chosen Consuls, in the view of despoiling him of all his Honours and Dignities; and that *Sergius Galba* had been excluded, tho' much the strongest in the number of Votes, because of his known Intimacy with *Cæsar*, and having served under him as Lieutenant.

XLII. HE was received every where with incredible Honours, and the warmest Testimonies of the People's Affection. For this was the first time he had appeared among them since the total reduction of *Gaul*. Nothing was omitted that could contribute to the ornament of the Gates, Ways, and Places thro' which he was to pass. The People with their Children came out to meet him: Sacrifices were offered in all Parts: Tables richly spread were placed in the publick Squares and Temples: and so great was the Magnificence displayed by the rich, such the eagerness of the poor to express their Satisfaction, that every thing wore the face of a most splendid Triumph.

XLIII.

XLIII. CÆSAR having visited the several Provinces of *Cisalpine Gaul*, returned in all haste to the Army at *Nemetocenna*; and ordering the Legions to quit their Winter-quarters, and rendezvous in the Territories of the *Treviri*, went thither and reviewed them in person. He gave the Government of *Cisalpine Gaul* to *Labienus*, the better to reconcile him to his demand of the Consulship; and marched the Army from place to place, that by the motion and change of Air, he might prevent any Sickness getting among the Troops. Altho' he often heard, that *Labienus* was strongly solicited by his Enemies; and was for certain informed, that some were labouring, by means of the Senate's Authority, to deprive him of part of his Army: yet neither did he credit any Reports to *Labienus's* disadvantage, nor could be induced to set himself in opposition to the Authority of the Senate. For he made no doubt of obtaining his demand by the free Suffrages of the Fathers: and the rather, because *C. Curio*, Tribune of the People, having undertaken the defence of *Cæsar's* Cause and Dignity, had often proposed in the Senate: "That if *Cæsar's* Army gave  
" umbrage to any, as *Pompey* was no less formidable to the true Friends of Liberty, both should  
" be ordered to dismiss their Troops, and return to  
" a private Condition, which would entirely free  
" the Commonwealth from all apprehensions of  
" Danger." Nor did he only propose this, but even began to put it to the Vote. But the Consuls and *Pompey's* Friends interposed, which hindered the Senate from coming to any Resolution.

XLIV. THIS was an authentick Testimony from the whole Senate, and agreeable to what had passed on a former Occasion. For when *Marcellus*,  
who



BOOK who strove to render himself considerable by opposing *Cæsar*, had proposed the Year before, contrary to the Law of *Pompey* and *Crassus*, to recal *Cæsar* before his Commission was expired, the Overture was rejected by a very full House. But this, instead of discouraging *Cæsar*'s Enemies, only pushed them on to new Attempts, that they might at length bring the Senate into their Measures.

XLV. A *Senatusconsultum* soon after passed, that one Legion from *Pompey*, and another from *Cæsar*, should be sent to the *Parthian* War. But it was visibly their Design to take both Legions from *Cæsar* alone. For *Pompey* offered the first Legion for that service, which he had lent some time before to *Cæsar*, having raised it in his Province. But *Cæsar*, though now fully satisfied of the ill Designs of his Enemies, readily sent back *Pompey*'s Legion; and in compliance with the Decree of the Senate, ordered the fifteenth, one of his own Number, which was then in hither *Gaul*, to be delivered to their Commissioners; and sent the thirteenth into *Italy* to replace it, and supply the Garrisons whence it had been drawn. He then put his Army into Winter-quarters. *C. Trebonius*, with four Legions, was ordered into the Country of the *Belgians*; and *G. Fabius*, with the like number, was placed among the *Æduans*. For thus he thought *Gaul* was most likely to be kept in subjection; if the *Belgæ*, the most renowned for their Valour, and the *Æduans*, the most considerable for their Authority, were awed by the presence of two Armies.

XLVI. AFTER this he returned into *Italy*, where he understood, that the two Legions he had sent, in conformity to the Decree of the Senate, to be employ-



employed in the *Parthian* War, had been delivered by the Consul *Marcellus* to *Pompey*, and were by him still detained in *Italy*. Although by this it was abundantly evident, that they were preparing to take up Arms against him ; he yet resolved to suffer every thing, while any hope remained of adjusting their Differences by the methods of Peace, rather than those of Violence and War.

BOOK  
VIII

XIV. A *Switzerland* was soon after passed, that one Legion from *Pompey*, and another from *Cæsar*, should be sent to the *Parthian* War. But it was visibly that *Pompey* to raise both Legions from *Cæsar*, for *Pompey* possessed the full Legion for the service, which he had lost for some time before *Cæsar*, having raised it in his Province. But *Cæsar*, though now fully satisfied of the *Design* of his Enemies, could not back *Pompey's* Legion ; and in compliance with the Request of the Senate, ordered the *Switzerland*, one of his own Legions, which was then in *Italy*, to be delivered to them. Commissioners, and sent the *Switzerland* into *Italy* to replace it, and supply the *Switzerland* whence it had been drawn. He then put his Army into *Winter* quarters. *C. Velleius*, with four Legions, was ordered into the Country of the *Belgians*, and *C. Fabius*, with the like number, was placed among the *Albanians*. For thus he thought *Cæsar* was most likely to be kept in a *Jeckon* ; if the *Switzerland* were removed for their *Switzerland*, and the *Switzerland* were the most considerable for their Authority, were *C. Cæsar's* of two Armies.

XVI. After this he returned into *Italy*, where he understood, that the two Legions he had sent, in conformity to the Decree of the Senate, to be employed.

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C. JULIUS CAESAR

COMMENTARIES

ON THE

CIVIL WAR

BOOK I

C. JULIUS CAESAR

Vol. III

*C. JULIUS CÆSAR's*  
COMMENTARIES  
OF THE  
CIVIL WAR.  
BOOK I.

# THE ARGUMENT

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## THE ARGUMENT.

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# THE ARGUMENT.

*States declare for him. LV. Afranius and Petreius remove towards Celtiberia. LVI. Cæsar pursues them with his Cavalry. LVII. Then drawing out the Legions, continues to urge them in their Retreat. LXIV. He cuts off their Provisions. LXVI. Afranius and Petreius's Men talk with Cæsar's about a Surrender. LXVII. Petreius interrupts the Conference. LXVIII. And obliges the Soldiers to take an Oath of Fidelity to their Generals. LXX. Who finding both their Provisions and Forage intercepted, resolve to return to Lerida. LXXI. Cæsar follows and greatly molests them in their March. LXXIII. At length Water, Forage, and every thing failing them, they are forced to sue for Peace, and accept of Cæsar's Terms.*











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THE  
SUPPLEMENT  
OF

DIONYSIUS VOSSIUS,

TO

CÆSAR's First Book of the CIVIL WAR.

**I** Think it needless to say any thing here, in opposition to those who pretend, that the following Commentaries concerning the *Civil War*, were not penned by *Cæsar* himself. We have not only the express Testimony of *Suetonius* to the contrary, but the very *Stile* sufficiently declares, that *Cæsar* alone could be the Author of the Work. There is room however to suspect, from the abrupt manner in which the Subject is introduced, that the beginning of this first Book is wanting: for History takes notice of several previous Facts, of which no mention is made here. I have therefore collected out of *Plutarch*, *Appian*, and *Dion*, as much as was necessary to connect this and the former Commentary, and fancy it will not be disagreeable to the Reader, to offer it here by way of Preface.

GAUL being wholly reduced, *Cæsar*, upon his Arrival in *Lombardy*, thought proper for many Reasons to send Deputies to *Rome*, to demand the Consulship, and a prolongation of his Command. *Pompey*, who tho' averse to *Cæsar's* Interest, had not yet openly declared against him, neither furthered nor opposed this Request. But the Consuls *Marcellus* and *Lentulus*, who had already joined the Party of his Enemies, resolved by every method in their power to frustrate the Design. *Marcellus* scrupled not to add other Injuries to that of which we speak. For *Cæsar* had lately planted a Colony at *Novocomum* in *Cisalpine Gaul*; and *Marcellus*, not satisfied with stripping the Inhabitants of the Privilege of *Roman* Citizens, seized one of their chief Magistrates at *Rome*, ordered him to be scourged, and then dismissed him to carry his Complaints to *Cæsar*: an Ignominy from which all free Citizens were expressly exempted by the Laws. While Affairs were in this train, *C. Curio*, Tribune of the People, came to *Cæsar* in *Gaul*. This Nobleman, after many Attempts in behalf of the Commonwealth, and to promote *Cæsar's* Interest; finding at length all his Endeavours without effect, fled from *Rome* to avoid the Malice of his Enemies, and informed *Cæsar* of all that was transacting against him. *Cæsar* received him with great marks of Respect, as well on account of his Rank in the Commonwealth, as the many Services he had done himself and the State; and thanked him for the signal Zeal he had shown in his Cause. But *Curio* advised him, since his Enemies were now openly preparing for War, to draw his Army together without delay, and rescue the Commonwealth from the tyranny of an aspiring Faction. *Cæsar*, tho' fully satisfied of the truth of *Curio's* Report, resolved to sacrifice all other Considerations



siderations to the publick Tranquillity, that no Man might justly charge him with being the Author of a civil War. He therefore only petitioned by his Friends, that the Government of *Cisalpine Gaul* and *Illyricum*, with the Command of two Legions, might be continued to him: in all which his principal Aim was, by the equity of his Demands, to induce his Enemies to grant Peace to the Commonwealth. These Offers appeared so reasonable, that even *Pompey* himself knew not how to oppose them. But the Consuls still continuing inflexible, *Cæsar* wrote a Letter to the Senate; wherein, after briefly enumerating his Exploits and Services, he requested them not to deprive him of the Benefit of the People's Favour, who had permitted him to sue for the Consulship in his absence. He protested his readiness, if such was the Resolution of the Senate and People of *Rome*, to dismiss his Army, provided *Pompey* did the same: but could by no means resolve, so long as he continued in Command and Authority, to divest himself of Troops, and lay himself open to the Injuries of his Enemies. *Curio* was commissioned to carry this Letter; who travelling with incredible dispatch, reached *Rome* in three Days (a distance of an hundred and sixty Miles,) before the beginning of *January*, and ere the Consuls could get any thing determined relating to *Cæsar's* Command. *Curio*, upon his Arrival, refused to part with the Letter, resolving not to deliver it but in full Senate, and when the Tribunes of the People were present: for he was apprehensive, should he do otherwise, that the Consuls would suppress it.

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*C. JULIUS CÆSAR's*  
**COMMENTARIES**  
 OF THE  
**CIVIL WAR.**  
**BOOK I.**

I. **C**ÆSAR's Letter being delivered to the Consuls, the Tribunes with much difficulty procured it a reading in the Senate, but could by no means prevail to have his Demands brought under deliberation. The Consuls propos'd to debate upon the state of the Republick. "*Lentulus* promised to stand by the Senate and People, if they would deliver their Sentiments with Freedom and Courage: but if they regarded *Cæsar*, and affected to court his Friendship, as had been the practice for some time past, he knew, he told them, what he had to do, and was determin'd to disclaim their Authority; not doubting but he would find a ready Admittance to the Favour and Protection of *Cæsar*." *Scipio* spoke much to the same purpose:

BOOK I. pose: "That *Pompey* was firmly bent not to abandon the Republick, if he found the Senators ready to support him: but if they cooled, or were remiss in their Resolves, it would be in vain for them to expect his Aid, if they saw cause afterwards to apply for it." This Speech of *Scipio*, as the Senate was held in the City, and *Pompey* resided in the Suburbs, was considered as coming from *Pompey's* own Mouth. Some were for following milder Counsels, of which number was *M. Marcellus*, who gave it as his Opinion: "That it was not proper to enter upon the present Deliberation, 'till Troops were raised over all *Italy*, and an Army got ready, under whose Protection the Senate might proceed with freedom and safety in their Debates. *Callidius* was for sending *Pompey* to his Government, to take away all occasion of Discord; because *Cæsar* had reason to fear, as two of his Legions had been taken from him, that *Pompey* retained them in the neighbourhood of *Rome*, with a view to employ them against him." *M. Rufus* nearly agreed in opinion with *Callidius*. But they were all severely reprimanded by the Consul *Lentulus*, who expressly refused to put *Callidius's* Motion to the vote. *Marcellus* awed by the Consul's Reprimand, retracted what he had said. Thus the Clamours of *Lentulus*, the dread of an Army at the Gates of *Rome*, and the Menaces of *Pompey's* Friends, forced the greater part of the Senate, tho' with the utmost Reluctance and Dislike, into a Compliance with *Scipio's* Motion: "That *Cæsar* should be ordered to disband his Army before a certain Day then fixed; and that, in case of Disobedience, he should be declared an Enemy to the Republick." *M. Antonius* and *Q. Cassius*, Tribunes of the People, opposed their Negative to this Decree. Immediately  
a Debate

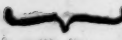


a Debate arose upon the validity of their Interposition. Many severe Speeches were made against them; and the more warm and passionate any one appeared, the more was he applauded by *Cæsar's* Enemies.

II. IN the Evening the Senate rose; and *Pompey* sending for all those of his Party, commended the forward; confirmed them in their Resolutions; reproved and animated the more moderate. Multitudes of Veterans, who had formerly served under him, flocked to him from all parts, allured by the expectation of Rewards and Dignities. A great number of Officers belonging to the two Legions lately returned by *Cæsar*, had likewise Orders to attend him. *Rome* was filled with Troops. *Curio* assembled the Tribunes to support the Decree of the People. On the other hand, all the Friends of the Consuls, all the Partizans of *Pompey*, and of such as bore any ancient grudge to *Cæsar*, repaired to the Senate: by whose Concourse and Votes the weaker sort were terrified, the irresolute confirmed, and the greater part deprived of the liberty of speaking their mind freely. *L. Piso* the Censor, and *L. Roscius* the Prætor, offered to go and acquaint *Cæsar* with the state of Affairs, demanding only six Days for that purpose. Some were for sending Deputies to him, to inform him of the Senate's Disposition.

III. BUT all these Proposals were rejected, because the Consul, *Scipio*, and *Cato*, declared against them. *Cato* was incited by the remembrance of an old Quarrel, and the disappointment he had sustained in standing Candidate for the Prætorship with *Cæsar*. *Lentulus* was oppressed with Debt, and flattered himself with the Command of Armies, the Government of Provinces, and the Largesses of  
the

BOOK the Kings for whom he should procure the title of

I.  Allies and Friends of the *Roman* People. He was besides wont to boast among those of his own Party, that he doubted not of becoming a second *Sylla*, in whom the whole Authority of the Commonwealth should center. *Scipio* entertained the same hope of Commands and Governments, which he expected to share with his Son-in-law *Pompey*: add to this his dread of a Prosecution; his Vanity and Self-conceit; and the Flatteries and Applauses of his Friends, who at that time bore a considerable sway in the Commonwealth and Courts of Justice. *Pompey* himself, instigated by *Cæsar*'s Enemies, and not able to endure an Equal in dignity, was now entirely alienated from him, and had joined with their common Adversaries, most of whom *Cæsar* had contracted during his Affinity with *Pompey*. Beside, the fraudulent Step he had taken, in detaining for the Purposes of his own Ambition, the two Legions destined to serve in *Asia* and *Syria*, determined him to use all his Endeavours to bring on a civil War.

IV. THUS nothing but Tumult and Violence was to be seen in the publick Debates. *Cæsar*'s Friends had no time given them to inform him of what passed. Even the Tribunes themselves were not exempt from Danger, nor durst they have recourse to that right of Intercession, which *Sylla* had left them as the last Bulwark of Liberty: insomuch that the seventh Day after entering upon their Office, they saw themselves obliged to provide for their Safety: whereas in former times, the most turbulent and seditious Tribunes never began to apprehend themselves in Danger, 'till towards the eighth Month of their Administration. Recourse was had to that rigid and ultimate Decree, which  
was

was never used but in the greatest Extremities, when the City was threatened with Ruin and Conflagration : I.

“ That the Consuls, the Prætors, the Tribunes of the People, and the Proconsuls that were near Rome, should take care that the Commonwealth received no Detriment.” This Decree passed the seventh of *January*; so that during the five first Days in which it was permitted the Senate to assemble, after *Lentulus's* Entrance upon the Consulship (for two Days are always appropriated to the holding of the *Comitia*) the most severe and rigorous Resolutions were taken, both in relation to *Cæsar's* Government, and the Tribunes of the People, Men of eminent Worth and Dignity. The Tribunes immediately quitted the City, and fled to *Cæsar*, who was then at *Ravenna*, waiting an Answer to his late Demands, whose Equity he hoped would dispose all Parties to entertain Thoughts of Peace.

V. THE following Days the Senate assembled without the City, where *Pompey* confirmed every thing he had before intimated by the Mouth of *Scipio*. He applauded the Resolution and Courage of the Senators, acquainted them with the State of his Forces, that he had ten Legions already in Arms, and was besides well informed, that *Cæsar's* Troops were by no means satisfied with their General, nay had even refused to support and follow him. It was then proposed in the Senate, that Troops should be raised over all *Italy*; that *Faustus Sylla* should be sent Proprætor into *Mauritania*; that *Pompey* should be supplied with Money out of the publick Treasury; and that King *Juba* should be declared Friend and Ally of the People of *Rome*: but *Marcellus* opposed the last of these; and *Philippus*, Tribune of the People, would not agree to the Proprætorship of *Sylla*. The other Motions were



BOOK I. were approved by the Senate. The Affair of the Provinces was next decided; two of which were Consular, the rest Prætorian. *Syria* fell to the share of *Scipio*; and *Gaul* fell to *L. Domitius*. *Philippus* and *Marcellus* were set aside, thro' the private views of the prevailing Party. The rest of the Provinces were assigned to Men of Prætorian Rank; who waited not to have their Nomination confirmed by the People, as had been the Custom in former Years; but after taking the usual Oath, departed for their several Commands in a military Habit. The Consuls left the City, a thing unheard of 'till that time; and Lictors were seen walking before private Men in the Forum and Capitol, contrary to the express Practice of former Ages. Troops were levied over all *Italy*; Arms enjoined; Money demanded of the Colonies and free Towns, and even taken from the very Temples: in fine, neither divine nor human Rights were regarded.

VI. CÆSAR having Intelligence of these Proceedings, addressed himself to his Troops: "He took notice of the many Injuries he had received on all Occasions from his Enemies, who had alienated *Pompey* from him, by filling him with an Envy and Jealousy of his Reputation, tho' he had done every thing in his Power to promote his Glory, and favour his Advancement to the highest Dignities. He complained of the new Precedent introduced into the Commonwealth, in checking and hindering by Arms the Opposition of the Tribunes, which of late Years had been restored to its wonted Force. That *Sylla*, who had almost annihilated the Tribuneship, had yet left it the liberty of Opposition; whereas *Pompey*, who valued himself upon the Re-establishment of that Office, deprived it now of a Privilege



" Privilege it had always enjoyed. That the De-BOOK  
 " cree enjoining the Magistrates to provide for the I.  
 " Safety of the Commonwealth, which implied an  
 " Order to the *Roman* People to repair to Arms,  
 " was never wont to be used but on occasion of  
 " dangerous Laws, seditious Measures pursued by  
 " the Tribunes, or a general Secession of the Peo-  
 " ple, when they possessed themselves of the Tem-  
 " ples and Places of Strength: Crimes, which in  
 " former Ages had been expiated by the Fate of  
 " *Saturninus* and the *Gracchi*. That at present no-  
 " thing of this kind had been attempted, nor so  
 " much as thought of; no Law promulged, no  
 " Endeavours used to seduce the People, no Ap-  
 " pearance of Revolt or Disaffection. He there-  
 " fore conjured them to defend against the Malice  
 " of his Enemies, the Honour and Reputation of  
 " a General, under whom they had served nine  
 " Years with so much Advantage to the Common-  
 " wealth, gained so many Battles, and subdued all  
 " *Gaul* and *Germany*." The Soldiers of the thir-  
 " teenth Legion, who were present, and whom he  
 " had sent for in the beginning of the Troubles, (the  
 " rest not being yet arrived,) cried out, that they  
 " were determined to maintain the Honour of their  
 " General, and to revenge the Wrongs done to the  
 " Tribunes.

VII. BEING assured of the Good-will of the Sol-  
 diers, he marched with that Legion to *Rimini*,  
 where he was met by the Tribunes of the People,  
 who had fled to him for Protection. He ordered  
 the other Legions to quit their Winter-quarters,  
 and follow him with all expedition. While he was  
 at *Rimini*, young *L. Caesar*, whose Father was one  
 of his Lieutenants, came to him; and after ac-  
 quainting him with the Occasion of his Journey,  
 added,

BOOK added, that he had a private Message to him from  
 I. *Pompey*, " who was desirous of clearing himself to  
 " *Cæsar*, that he might not interpret those Actions  
 " as designed to affront him, which had no other  
 " Aim but the Good of the Commonwealth : That  
 " it had been his constant Maxim, to prefer the In-  
 " terest of the Republick to any private Engage-  
 " ment : That it was worthy of *Cæsar*, to sacrifice  
 " his Passion and Resentment to the same noble  
 " Motive ; and not prejudice the Commonwealth,  
 " by pushing too far his Revenge against his pri-  
 " vate Enemies." He added something more to  
 the same Purpose, mingled with Excuses for *Pompey*.  
 The Prætor *Rostius* joined likewise in the Ne-  
 gotiation, declaring he was commissioned so to do.

VIII. THO' all this tended little to redress the In-  
 juries of which *Cæsar* complained : yet considering  
 these as proper Persons by whom to transfix his  
 Thoughts ; he begged of them, that as they had  
 not scrupled to bring *Pompey's* Demands to him,  
 they would likewise carry back his Proposals to  
*Pompey* ; that, if possible, so small a Labour might  
 put an end to mighty Differences, and deliver all  
*Italy* from the Fear of a civil War. He told them :  
 " That the Interest of the Commonwealth had al-  
 " ways been dearer to him than Life ; but he could  
 " not help grieving at the Malice of his Enemies ;  
 " who had frustrated the good Intentions of the  
 " *Roman* People in his Favour, by cutting off six  
 " Months from his Command, and obliging him  
 " to return to *Rome* to sue for the Consulship, tho'  
 " a Law had been made dispensing with his per-  
 " sonal Attendance : That he had yet, for the sake  
 " of the Commonwealth, patiently submitted to  
 " this Assault upon his Honour : That even his  
 " Proposal of disbanding the Armies on both sides,  
 which

“ which he had made by a Letter to the Senate,  
 “ had been rejected: That new Levies were mak-  
 “ ing over all *Italy*: That two Legions, which had  
 “ been taken from him under pretence of the *Par-*  
 “ *thian* War, were still retained in the service of  
 “ his Enemies: That the whole State was in Arms.  
 “ What could all this aim at but his Destruction?  
 “ That nevertheless he was ready to agree to any  
 “ Proposal, and expose himself to any Danger for  
 “ the sake of his Country. Let *Pompey* go to his  
 “ Government: let all the Armies be disbanded:  
 “ let every body throughout *Italy* lay down their  
 “ Arms: let every thing that participates of Ter-  
 “ ror and Force be removed: let the Elections of  
 “ Magistrates be made with perfect Freedom; and  
 “ let the Republick be administred by the Authority  
 “ of the Senate and People. And the better to  
 “ settle all these Articles, and corroborate them  
 “ with the sanction of an Oath, let either *Pompey*  
 “ himself draw nearer, or suffer *Cæsar* to approach  
 “ him; as all their Differences may be most easily  
 “ terminated by a Conference.”

IX. *Roscius* and *L. Cæsar*, having received  
 this Answer, departed for *Capua*, where they  
 found *Pompey* and the Consuls, and laid before  
 them *Cæsar's* Proposals. After deliberating upon  
 the Affair, they sent a Reply in Writing by the  
 same Messengers, the Purport of which was:  
 “ That *Cæsar* should quit *Rimini*, return to *Gaul*,  
 “ and disband his Army; which Conditions per-  
 “ formed, *Pompey* would go into *Spain*. In the  
 “ mean-time, 'till *Cæsar* gave security for the per-  
 “ formance of what he had promised, neither  
 “ *Pompey* nor the Consuls would discontinue the  
 “ Levies.”



BOOK X. It was by no means a fair Proposal, that

I. *Cæsar* should be obliged to quit *Rimini*, and return to *Gaul*; while *Pompey* held Provinces and Legions that were none of his: that he should dismiss his Army; whilst the other was levying Troops: and that only a general Promise of going into *Spain* should be given, without fixing a Day for his departure; by which Evasion, was he to be found in *Italy*, even at the expiration of *Cæsar's* Consulship, he could not yet be charged with breach of Faith. His forbearing too to appoint a time for a Conference, and declining to approach nearer, gave little reason to hope for a Peace. He therefore sent *Antony* to *Arretium* with five Cohorts; remained himself at *Rimini* with two, where he resolved to levy Troops; and seizing *Pisaurum*, *Fanum*, and *Ancona*, left a Cohort in each for a Garrison.

XI. MEAN-TIME being informed, that *Thermus* the Prætor had entered *Iguvium* with five Cohorts, and was endeavouring to fortify the Town; as he knew the Inhabitants to be well inclined to his Interest, he detached *Curio* thither with three Cohorts, drawn from *Pisaurum* and *Rimini*. Upon this *Thermus*, who could not confide in the Townsmen, retired with his Cohorts, and quitted the Place: but his Troops abandoning him in their March, returned severally to their own Homes. *Curio* was received into the Place with great demonstrations of Joy: which being reported to *Cæsar*, as he found he had the Good-will of the Colonies and free Towns, he drew the Cohorts of the thirteenth Legion out of Garrison, and marched to *Auximum*, which *Attius* held with a Body of Troops, and whence he had dispatched Senators to levy Forces over all *Picenum*. *Cæsar's* Arrival being known, the chief Citizens of *Auximum*



*Auximum* went in a Body to *Attius Varus*, and told him : “ That it did not belong to them to determine on which side Justice lay ; but that neither they, nor the other municipal Towns could endure to see their Gates shut against *Cæsar*, who by his great Actions had deserved so well of the Commonwealth : That therefore he would do well to consult his own Safety and Reputation.” *Attius*, moved by this Speech, drew off his Garrison and fled. But some of *Cæsar*’s first Ranks pursuing him, obliged him to stop ; and a Battle ensuing, he was deserted by his Men. Some of the Troops returned home ; the rest went over to *Cæsar*, and brought along with them *L. Pupius*, first Centurion of the Legion, who had formerly held the same Rank in *Pompey*’s Army. *Cæsar* commended *Attius*’s Soldiers ; dismissed *Pupius* ; returned thanks to the Inhabitants of *Auximum* ; and promised to retain always a grateful remembrance of their Attachment.

XII. THESE things being reported at *Rome*, the Consternation was so great over the whole City, that when the Consul *Lentulus* came to the Treasury to deliver out the Money to *Pompey*, in consequence of the Decree of the Senate, he scarce waited the opening of the inner Door, but precipitately left the Place, upon a false Rumour that *Cæsar* was approaching, and some of his Cavalry already in view. He was soon followed by his Colleague *Marcellus*, and the greater part of the Magistrates. *Pompey* had left the Town the Day before, and was upon his way to *Apulia*, where he had quartered the Legions he had received from *Cæsar*. The Levies were discontinued within the City, and no place appeared secure on this side *Capua*. Here at last they took Courage and rallied, and began to renew

BOOK their Levies in the Colonies round about, which had  
 I. been sent thither by the *Julian Law*. *Lentulus*  
 summoned into the Forum the Gladiators whom  
*Cæsar* had ordered to be trained up there, gave them  
 their Liberty, furnished them with Horses, and  
 commanded them to follow him. But being after-  
 wards admonished by his Friends that this Step was  
 universally condemned, he dispersed them into the  
 neighbouring Towns of *Campania*, to keep garrison  
 there.

XIII. CÆSAR mean-while leaving *Auximum*,  
 traversed the whole Country of *Picenum*; where he  
 was joyfully received in all parts by the Inhabitants,  
 who furnished his Army with every thing necessary.  
 Even *Cingulum* itself, a Town founded by *Labienus*,  
 and built at his own expence, sent Deputies to him  
 with an offer of their Submission and Services. He  
 demanded a certain number of Soldiers, which were  
 sent immediately. Mean-time the twelfth Legion  
 joined him; and with these two he marched to *As-  
 culum*, a Town of *Picenum*. Here *Lentulus Spintber*  
 commanded with ten Cohorts; who hearing of *Cæ-  
 sar's* Approach, quitted the Place with his Troops,  
 who almost all deserted him upon the March. Be-  
 ing left with only a few, he fell in with *Vibullius*  
*Rufus*, whom *Pompey* had sent into *Picenum*, to en-  
 courage his Followers in those Parts. *Vibullius* un-  
 derstanding from him the state of Affairs in *Picenum*,  
 dismissed *Lentulus*, and took the Soldiers under his  
 Command. He likewise drew together from the  
 neighbouring Provinces as many as he could meet  
 with of *Pompey's* Levies; among the rest *Ulcilles*  
*Hirus*, who was flying with six Cohorts from *Came-  
 rinum*, where they had been quartered. Out of all  
 these he formed thirteen Cohorts, with which he  
 posted by great Journeys to *Corfinium*, where *Do-  
 mitius*

*Domitius Abenobarbus* commanded; whom he informed that *Cæsar* was approaching with two Legions. *Domitius* had already got together with great expedition twenty Cohorts from *Alba*, the Country of the *Marfi*, *Peligni*, and the neighbouring Provinces. BOOK  
I.

XIV. *CÆSAR* having made himself master of *Asculum*, and obliged *Lentulus* to retire, ordered the Soldiers who had deserted him to be sought after, and new Levies to be made. He remained only one Day there, to settle what related to Provisions, and then pursued his March to *Corfinium*. Upon his Arrival there, he found five Cohorts, whom *Domitius* had detached from the Garrison, employed in breaking down a Bridge about three Miles distant from the Town. But *Cæsar's* advanced Parties attacking them, they quickly abandoned the Bridge, and retired to *Corfinium*. *Cæsar* having passed with his Legions, halted before the Town, and encamped under the Walls.

XV. UPON this *Domitius* engaged by great Rewards Persons well acquainted with the Country, to carry Letters into *Apulia* to *Pompey*, wherein he earnestly requested him to come to his Aid. He told him, "That it would be easy, in that close Country, to shut up *Cæsar* between two Armies, and cut off his Provisions: That unless this Course was followed, he himself, with above thirty Cohorts, and a great number of Senators and *Roman* Knights, would be exposed to imminent danger." Mean-while having encouraged his Men, he disposed Engines along the Walls, appointed every one his particular Post, and the more to animate them, promised each Soldier four Acres of Land out of his own Estate, and in proportion to every Centurion and Volunteer.

BOOK XVI. MEAN-TIME *Cæsar* was informed that  
 I. the People of *Sulmona*, a Town seven Miles distant  
 from *Corfinium*, desired to put themselves under his  
 Protection, but were restrained by *Q. Lucretius* a  
 Senator, and *Attius* a *Pelignian*, who held them in  
 subjection with a Garrison of seven Cohorts. He  
 therefore dispatched *M. Antony* thither, with five  
 Cohorts of the seventh Legion, whose Ensigns were  
 no sooner descried from the Walls of *Sulmona*, than  
 the Gates were thrown open, and the whole People  
 in a Body, both Soldiers and Townsmen, came out  
 to congratulate *Antony* on his Arrival. *Lucretius*  
 and *Attius* endeavoured to escape over the Wall:  
 but *Attius* being taken, and brought to *Antony*, re-  
 quested that he might be sent to *Cæsar*. *Antony* re-  
 turned the same Day, bringing along with him the  
 Cohorts and *Attius*. *Cæsar* joined these Cohorts to  
 his Army, and set *Attius* at liberty.

XVII. CÆSAR resolved to employ the three  
 first Days in strongly fortifying his Camp, in  
 procuring Corn from the neighbouring Towns,  
 and waiting the Arrival of the rest of his Forces.  
 During this space the eighth Legion joined him,  
 with two and twenty Cohorts of new Levies from  
*Gaul*, and about three hundred Horse from the  
 King of *Noricum*. This obliged him to form a  
 second Camp on the other side of the Town, un-  
 der the Command of *Curio*. The remaining Days  
 were spent in drawing a Line with Redoubts round  
 the Place, which Work was nearly compleated  
 when the Messengers that had been sent to *Pompey*  
 returned.

XVIII. DOMITIUS perusing the Dispatches,  
 thought proper to dissemble the Contents, and de-  
 clared



clared in Council, that *Pompey* would speedily come to their Assistance. Mean-time he exhorted them to behave with Courage, and provide every thing necessary for a vigorous Defence. He conferred however privately with a few of his most intimate Friends, and in concert with them determined upon Flight. But as his Looks and Speech were found to disagree; as he behaved not with his usual Composure and Firmness; and was observed, contrary to Custom, to be much in secret Conference with his Friends; avoiding publick Appearances, and Councils of War: it was not possible for the Truth to remain any longer concealed. For *Pompey* had wrote back; "That he could not put all to hazard for his sake; that he had neither advised nor consented to his shutting himself up in *Corfinium*; that he must therefore endeavour to extricate himself as well as he could, and come and join him with all his Forces." But as *Cæsar* had invested and carried his Lines round the Place, this Retreat was now become impracticable.

XIX. *DOMITIUS's* Design being discovered, the Soldiers, who were at *Corfinium*, began to assemble in the Evening, and by means of their Tribunes, Centurions, and other Officers, made known their Thoughts to one another: "That they were besieged by *Cæsar*, who had already in a manner compleated his Works: That their General *Domitius*, in whose promises of Assistance they had placed their chief Hope, abandoning all Concern for their Safety, was contriving to escape privately by Flight: That it was therefore incumbent upon them to look also to their own Preservation." The *Marssi* at first opposed this Resolution, and possessed themselves of the strongest part of the Town; nay the Dispute was so warm, that it almost

BOOK I. most came to be decided by the Sword. But shortly after, being made acquainted with *Domitius's* intended Flight, of which before they had no knowledge; they all in a Body surrounded *Domitius*, secured his Person, and sent Deputies to *Cæsar*: "That they were ready to open their Gates, receive his Orders, and deliver up *Domitius* alive."

XX. THOUGH *Cæsar* was fully sensible of how great Importance it was to get possession of the Town immediately, and join the Garrison to his own Army; lest by Largeſſes, Promiſes of speedy Relief, or falſe Reports, any Change ſhould be produced; as in War great Revolutions often ariſe from very trifling Cauſes: yet fearing that if he introduced his Soldiers in the dark, they would take that Opportunity to plunder the Town, he ſent back the Deputies with thanks for their proffer, reſolving to have the Walls and Gates watched with great care. To that end he diſpoſed his Men along the Works, not at certain diſtances as uſual, but in one continued Rank, ſo as to touch each other, and compleatly inveſt the Town. He ordered the military Tribunes, and Officers of the Cavalry, to patrol about the Works, and not only be on their guard againſt Sallies, but even take care to prevent the eſcape of particular Perſons. And indeed ſo alert and vigilant were the Soldiers, that not a Man cloſed his Eyes that Night; each expecting the Event with impatience, and carrying his Thoughts from one thing to another; what would be the Fate of the *Corſinians*, what of *Domitius*, what of *Lentulus* and the other illuſtrious Perſons in the Place: in fine, what was like to be the iſſue of ſo complicated a Scene.

XXI. ABOUT the fourth Watch of the Night, *Lentulus Spintber* called from the Wall to the Guard, and desired to be conducted to *Cæsar*. His Request being granted, he came out of the Town, attended by some of *Domitius's* Soldiers, who never left him till they had conducted him into *Cæsar's* presence. "He begged him to spare his Life, and  
"pardon the Injuries he had done him, in consideration of their former Friendship. He owned  
"the many obligations he had laid him under, in  
"procuring him an Admission into the College of  
"Priests, obtaining for him the Government of  
"Spain after the expiration of the Prætorship, and  
"supporting him in the demand of the Consulship." *Cæsar* interrupted him by saying, "That he was  
"not come out of the Bounds of his Province  
"with an intent to injure any body; but to repel  
"the Injuries done him by his Enemies; to revenge the Wrongs of the Tribunes; and to restore to the *Roman* People, who were oppressed  
"by a small Faction of the Nobles, their Liberty  
"and Privileges." *Lentulus* encouraged by this Speech, asked leave to return into the Town,  
"where, he said, the Assurances he had obtained of  
"his own Safety, would contribute not a little to  
"the consolation of others, some of whom were  
"so terrified, that they were ready to take desperate Resolutions." Leave being granted, he departed for the Town.

XXII. As soon as it was light, *Cæsar* ordered before him all the Senators, Senator's Sons, military Tribunes, and *Roman* Knights. There were of Senatorian Rank, *L. Domitius*, *P. Lentulus Spintber*, *L. Vibullius Rufus*, *Sextus Quintilius Varus* Questor, *L. Rubrius*; also *Domitius's* Son, and many

BOOK II. many young Men of Quality, with a great number of *Roman* Knights, and some Decurions, or Senators of the neighbouring municipal Towns, who had been sent for by *Domitius*. As soon as they appeared, he gave Orders to secure them from the Insults of the Soldiery; and addressing them in few Words, remonstrated: "That they had made a very ill Requital for the many signal Services received at his hands:" after which he set them at liberty. He likewise restored to *Domitius* six millions of Sesterces, which that General had brought with him to *Corfinium*, and deposited in the hands of the two Treasurers of the Town, who surrendered it to *Cæsar*. As this was publick Money, assigned by *Pompey* to pay the Forces with, *Cæsar* might justly have seized it; but he was willing to shew himself generous, as well as merciful. He ordered *Domitius's* Soldiers to take the usual Oath to him, decamped that very Day, made the ordinary March; and after staying in all seven Days before *Corfinium*, arrived in *Apulia*, through the Territories of the *Marrucini*, *Frentani*, and *Larinates*.

XXIII. POMPEY having Intelligence of what passed at *Corfinium*, retreated from *Luceria* to *Canusium*, and thence to *Brundisium*. He ordered all the new Levies to join him, armed the Shepherds and Slaves, furnished them with Horses, and formed a Body of about three hundred Cavalry. Meanwhile the Prætor *L. Manlius*, flying from *Alba* with six Cohorts; and the Prætor *Rutilus Lupus*, from *Tarracina* with three; saw *Cæsar's* Cavalry at a distance, commanded by *Bivius Curius*: upon which the Soldiers immediately abandoned the two Prætors, and joined the Troops under the conduct of *Curius*. Several other Parties, flying different ways, fell in, some with the Foot, others with the Horse.

Cn.



Cn. Magius of Cremona, Pompey's chief Engineer, BOOK  
I. being taken on his way to *Brundisium*, was brought to *Cæsar*, who sent him back to *Pompey* with this Message: "That as he had not yet obtained an Interview, his Design was to come to *Brundisium*, there to confer with him in relation to the common Safety, because they soon would be able to dispatch in a personal Treaty, what, if managed by the Intervention of others, could not be hindered from running into a tedious Negotiation."

XXIV. HAVING dismissed him with these Instructions, he arrived before *Brundisium* with six Legions, three of which were composed of veteran Soldiers, and the rest of new Levies drawn together upon his March: for as to *Domitius's* Troops, he had sent them directly from *Corfinium* to *Sicily*. He found the Consuls were gone to *Dyrrhachium* with great part of the Army, and that *Pompey* remained in *Brundisium* with twenty Cohorts. Nor was it certainly known, whether he continued there with design to keep possession of *Brundisium*, that he might be master of the whole *Adriatick* Sea, the extreme parts of *Italy*, and the Country of *Greece*, in order to make War on both sides the Gulph; or for want of Shipping to transport his Men. Fearing therefore that it was still his Intention to keep footing in *Italy*, he resolved to deprive him of the Advantages he might reap from the Port of *Brundisium*. The Works he contrived for this purpose were as follows. He carried on a Mole on either side the mouth of the Haven where the entrance was narrowest, and the Water shallow. But as this Work could not be carried quite across the Port, by reason of the great depth of the Sea, he prepared double Floats of Timber, thirty Foot square, which  
were

were each secured by four Anchors from the four Corners, to enable them to resist the fury of the Waves. These extending all the way between the two Moles, were covered over with Earth and Fascines, that the Soldiers might pass and repass with ease, and have firm footing to defend them. The front and sides were armed with a Parapet of Hurdles; and every fourth Float had a Tower of two Stories, the better to guard the Work from Fire, and the shocks of Vessels.

XXV. AGAINST these Preparations *Pompey* made use of several large Ships which he found in the Port of *Brundisum*; and having fitted them with Towers of three Stories, which he filled with a great number of Engines and Darts, let them loose upon *Cæsar's* Floats, to break through the Staccado, and interrupt the Works. Thus daily Skirmishes happened with Darts, Arrows, and Slings at a distance. Amidst these Hostilities, *Cæsar's* Thoughts were still bent upon Peace: and tho' he could not but wonder that *Magius*, whom he had sent with Proposals to *Pompey*, was not yet returned with an Answer; and even saw his Designs and Undertakings retarded by his frequent Offers of this kind; he nevertheless still persevered in these peaceable Resolutions. Accordingly he dispatched *Caninius Rebilus*, one of his Lieutenants, a Relation and intimate Friend of *Scribonius Libo*, to confer with him on this Subject. He charged him, to exhort that Nobleman to think seriously of Peace, and if possible procure an Interview between him and *Pompey*. Could this be effected, he shewed there was the greatest Ground to believe, that Peace would soon be concluded on reasonable Terms; the Honour and Reputation of which would in a manner wholly redound to *Libo*, if by his Mediation both Parties should

should be prevailed with to lay down their Arms. BOOK I.  
*Libo*, after conferring with *Caninius*, waited on *Pompey*. Soon after he returned with this Answer; that the Consuls were absent, without whom *Pompey* had no power to treat of an Accommodation. Thus *Cæsar* having often tried in vain to bring about a Peace, thought it now time to drop that Design, and bend all his thoughts to War.

XXVI. *CÆSAR* having spent nine Days about his Works, had now half finished the Staccado, when the Ships employed in the first Embarkation, being sent back by the Consuls from *Dyrrbachium*, returned to *Brundisium*. *Pompey*, either alarmed at *Cæsar's* Works, or because from the first he had determined to relinquish *Italy*, no sooner saw the Transports arrive, than he prepared to carry over the rest of his Forces. And the better to secure himself against *Cæsar*, and prevent his Troops from breaking into the Town during the Embarkation, he walled up the Gates; barricaded the Streets; or cut Ditches across them, filled with pointed Stakes, and covered with Hurdles and Earth. The two Streets which led to the Port, and which he left open for the Passage of his Men, were fortified with a double Palisado of very strong well sharpened Stakes. These Preparations being made, he ordered the Soldiers to embark with great Silence, having placed on the Walls and Towers some select Archers and Slingers, who were to wait 'till all the Troops had got aboard, and then retire, upon a Signal given, to some small Ships that waited them at a convenient Distance.

XXVII. THE People of *Brundisium*, provoked by the Affronts they had received from *Pompey*, and the Insults of his Soldiers, wished well to *Cæsar's*

C. K. *far's* Cause : and having notice of *Pompey's* intended  
 I. departure ; while the Soldiers were busied with the  
 care of embarking, found means to signify it from  
 the tops of their Houses. *Cæsar*, upon this Intel-  
 ligence, ordered scaling Ladders to be prepared,  
 and the Soldiers to repair to their Arms, that he  
 might not lose any opportunity of acting. *Pompey*  
 weighed Anchor a little before Night, and gave  
 the Signal for recalling the Soldiers that were upon  
 the Walls, who repaired with all expedition to the  
 Ships prepared for them. Mean-time the scaling  
 Ladders are applied to the Walls, and *Cæsar's*  
 Troops enter the Town. But being informed by  
 the *Brundusians* of the Snares and Ditches provided  
 for them by the Enemy, they were obliged to take  
 a great Circuit, which gave *Pompey* time enough to  
 put to sea. Two Transports only, impeded by  
*Cæsar's* Mole, were taken with the Troops on  
 board.

XXVIII. THO' *Cæsar* was fully sensible, that to  
 finish the War at a blow, he must pass the Sea im-  
 mediately, and endeavour to come up with *Pom-  
 pey*, before he could draw his transmarine Forces  
 together ; yet he dreaded the delay and length of  
 time that such a Project might require : because  
*Pompey* having carried with him all the Ships on that  
 Coast, rendered the present execution of the Design  
 impracticable. He must therefore wait the Arrival  
 of Ships from *Picenum*, *Sicily*, and the remoter  
 Coasts of *Gaul* ; which was a tedious Business, and,  
 at that season of the Year, subject to great Uncer-  
 tainty. It appeared likewise of dangerous Conse-  
 quence, to suffer a veteran Army, and the two  
*Spains*, one of which was wholly devoted to *Pom-  
 pey*, to strengthen themselves in his Rival's Interest ;  
 to let them grow powerful by levies of Horse and  
 Foot ;



Foot; and leave *Gaul* and *Italy* open to their At-BOOK  
tacks in his absence. He determined, therefore, L  
to lay aside, for the present, the design of pursuing  
*Pompey*, and turn all his thoughts towards *Spain*.  
He ordered the Magistrates of the municipal Towns  
to assemble all the Vessels they could, and send them  
to *Brundisium*. He sent *Valerius*, one of his Lieu-  
tenants, into *Sardinia*, with one Legion; and the  
Proprætor *Curio* into *Sicily* with three: ordering  
him, as soon as he had mastered *Sicily*, to pass over  
with his Army into *Africa*.

XXIX. *M. Cotta* commanded in *Sardinia*;  
*M. Cato* in *Sicily*; and *Africa* had fallen by lot to  
*Tubero*. The Inhabitants of *Cagliari*, hearing of  
*Valerius's* Commission, of their own accord, before  
he had left *Italy*, drove *Cotta* out of their City; who  
terrified by the unanimous Opposition he met with  
from the Province, fled into *Africa*. In *Sicily*,  
*Cato* applied himself with great diligence to the re-  
fitting of old Ships, and building of new. He  
sent his Lieutenants to raise Forces in *Lucania* and  
the Country of the *Brutians*, and ordered the States  
of *Sicily* to furnish him with a certain number of  
Horse and Foot. When these Preparations were  
almost compleated, being informed of *Curio's* Ar-  
rival, he called his chief Officers together, and  
complained, "that he was betrayed and abandon-  
"ed by *Pompey*, who without any previous Pre-  
"paration had involved the Commonwealth in an  
"unnecessary War; and upon being questioned by  
"himself and others in the Senate, had assured  
"them, that he was abundantly able to sustain it."  
Having thus declared his Mind, he quitted the  
Province, which by this means submitted without  
trouble to *Curio*, as *Sardinia* had before done to *Val-*  
*erius*. *Tubero* arriving in *Africa*, found *Attius Va-*

## BOOK

## I.

*rus* in possession of that Province; who after the loss of his Cohorts at *Auximum*, as we have shewn above, had fled into those Parts, and, with the consent of the Natives, taken upon him the Command. Here he had found means to levy two Legions, by his knowledge of the People and Country, where he had been Governor some Years before, after the expiration of his Prætorship. *Tubero* coming before *Utica* with his Fleet, was forbid the Harbour and Town; nor could he even obtain leave for his Son to land, though he had a fit of Sickness upon him, but was obliged to weigh Anchor and be gone.

XXX. THESE Affairs dispatched, *Cæsar*, that his Troops might enjoy some Repose, cantoned them in the nearest Towns, and set out himself for *Rome*. There he assembled the Senate, and after complaining of the Injuries of his Enemies, told them, " That he had never affected extraordinary  
 " Honours, but waited patiently the time prescribed by the Laws, to solicit for a second Consulship, to which every *Roman* Citizen had a right  
 " to aspire: That the People, with the concurrence of their Tribunes, (in spite of the Attempts  
 " of his Enemies, and the vigorous Opposition of  
 " *Cato*, who endeavoured, according to Custom, to spin out the time in speaking,) had permitted  
 " him to stand Candidate though absent, and that  
 " even in the Consulship of *Pompey*: who, if he  
 " disapproved of the Decree, why did he let it  
 " pass? but if he allowed it, why now oppose the  
 " execution? He set before them his Moderation,  
 " in voluntarily proposing that both Parties should  
 " lay down their Arms, by which he must have  
 " been himself divested of his Government and  
 " Command. He displayed the Malice of his Enemies, who sought to impose Terms upon him,

" to

“ to which they would not submit themselves ;  
 “ and chose rather to involve the State in a civil  
 “ War, than part with their Armies and Provinces.  
 “ He enlarged upon the Injury they had done  
 “ him, in taking away two of his Legions, and  
 “ their Cruelty and Insolence, in violating the Au-  
 “ thority of the Tribunes. He spoke of his many  
 “ offers of Peace, his frequent desire of an Inter-  
 “ view, and the continual Refusals he had received.  
 “ For all these Reasons, he requested and conjured  
 “ them to undertake the Administration of the Re-  
 “ publick, jointly with him. But if they declin-  
 “ ed it through Fear, he had no Intention to force  
 “ so great a Burden upon them, and would take  
 “ the whole Charge alone. That in the mean-time  
 “ it would be proper to send a Deputation to *Pom-*  
 “ *pey*, to treat of an Accommodation : Nor was he  
 “ frightened at the Difficulty *Pompey* had started some  
 “ time before in the Senate ; that to send Deputies  
 “ was to acknowledge the Superiority of him to  
 “ whom they were sent, and a sign of Timidity in  
 “ the sender. That this was a little low way of  
 “ thinking ; and that, in the same manner as he  
 “ had endeavoured at a superiority in Action, he  
 “ would also strive to be superior in Justice and  
 “ Equity.”

XXXI. THE Senate liked the Proposal of a  
 Deputation to *Pompey* : but the great Difficulty  
 was, to find Deputies ; every one, out of fear, re-  
 fusing to charge himself with that Commission.  
 For *Pompey*, at his departure from *Rome*, had de-  
 clared in the Senate : “ That he would esteem  
 “ those who stayed behind, as no less guilty than  
 “ those in *Cæsar’s* Camp.” Thus three Days were  
 spent in Debates and Excuses. The Tribune *L.*  
*Metellus* had likewise been suborned by *Cæsar’s* En-



BOOK I. mies to traverse this Design, and hinder whatever he should propose. Which *Cæsar* coming to understand, and that he only wasted his time to no purpose; he set out from *Rome*, without effecting what he had intended, and arrived in further *Gaul*.

XXXII. HERE he was informed, that *Pompey* had sent into *Spain* *Vibullius Rufus*; the same who a few Days before had been made Prisoner at *Corfinium*, and set at liberty by *Cæsar*: that *Domitius* was gone to take possession of *Marseilles*, with seven Gallies, which he had fitted out at *Igilium* and *Cosanum*, and manned with his Slaves, Freedmen, and Labourers: that the Deputies of the above-mentioned State, young Men of the first Quality, (whom *Pompey*, at his departure from *Rome*, had exhorted not to suffer the memory of his past Services to their Country to be blotted out by those lately received from *Cæsar*,) had been sent before, to prepare the way for his Reception. In consequence of their Remonstrances, the Inhabitants of *Marseilles* shut their Gates against *Cæsar*, and summoned to their Assistance the *Albici*, a barbarous People, who had long been under their Protection, and inhabited the adjoining Mountains. They brought Provisions from the neighbouring Country and Castles, appointed Work-shops for the making of Arms, refitted their Navy, and repaired their Walls and Gates.

XXXIII. CÆSAR sending for fifteen of the principal Men of the City, exhorted them not to be the first to begin the War, but to be swayed rather by the Authority of all *Italy*, than the will of one particular Person. He forgot not such other Considerations as seemed most likely to bring them to reason. The Deputies returning into the Town, brought



brought back this Answer from their Senate : BOOK  
 " That they saw the *Romans* divided into two Par- I.  
 " ties, and it did not belong to them to decide such  
 " a Quarrel : That at the head of these Parties  
 " were *Pompey* and *Cæsar*, both Patrons of their  
 " City ; the one having added to it the Country  
 " of the *Volcæ Arecomici* and *Helvians* ; the other,  
 " after the reduction of *Gaul*, considerably aug-  
 " mented its Territories and Revenues : That as  
 " they were therefore equally indebted to both, it  
 " became them not to aid the one against the other ;  
 " but to remain neuter, and grant neither an ad-  
 " mittance into their City or Port."

XXXIV. WHILST these things were in agita-  
 tion, *Domitius* arrived at *Marseilles* with his Fleet ;  
 and being received into the Town, was appointed  
 Governor, and charged with the whole Admini-  
 stration of the War. By his Order, they sent out  
 their Fleet to cruise round the Coasts ; seized and  
 brought in all the Merchant Vessels they could  
 find ; and made use of the Nails, Rigging, and  
 Timber of such as were unfit for Service, to repair  
 the rest. They deposited in publick Granaries all  
 the Corn that was to be found in the City, and se-  
 cured whatever else they thought might be service-  
 able to them in case of a Siege. *Cæsar* provoked at  
 these Preparations, brought three Legions before  
 the Town ; began to erect Towers and Galleries ;  
 and gave Orders for building twelve Gallies at *Ar-  
 les* : which being finished, lanced, and brought to  
*Marseilles*, within thirty Days from the cutting of  
 the Wood they were composed of, he put them un-  
 der the Command of *D. Brutus* ; and having direct-  
 ed the manner of the Siege, left the care of it to  
*C. Trebonius* his Lieutenant.

## BOOK

I.

XXXV. DURING these Orders and Preparations, he sent *C. Fabius* before him into *Spain*, with three Legions that had wintered about *Narbonne*; charging him to secure with all diligence the passage of the *Pyrenean* Mountains, which was at that time guarded by a Party of *Afranius's* Army. His other Legions, whose Quarters were more remote, had orders to follow as fast as they could. *Fabius*, according to his Instructions, having made great dispatch, forced the Passes of the *Pyrenees*; and by long Marches came up with *Afranius's* Army.

XXXVI. POMPEY had then three Lieutenants in *Spain*; *Afranius*, *Petreius*, and *Varro*. The first of these was at the head of three Legions, and governed the nearer *Spain*. The other two had each two Legions, and commanded; the one from the *Castilian* Forest to the *Anas*; the other from the *Anas*, quite through *Lusitania*, and the Territories of the *Vettones*. These three Lieutenants, upon the Arrival of *Vibullius Rufus*, whom *Pompey* had sent into *Spain*, as we have seen above; consulted together, and agreed; that *Petreius* should join *Afranius* with his two Legions; and that *Varro* should stay and secure further *Spain*. These Resolutions being taken; *Petreius* levied Horse and Foot in *Lusitania*; and *Afranius* in *Celtiberia*, *Cantabria*, and the barbarous Nations bordering upon the Ocean. When the Levies were compleated, *Petreius* speedily joined *Afranius* through the Territories of the *Vettones*; and both resolved to make *Lerida* the seat of the War, because the Country lay convenient for their purpose.

XXXVII. WE have already observed that *Afranius* had three Legions, and *Petreius* two. Besides these,

these, there were about eighty Cohorts, some light, some heavy-armed ; and five thousand Horse, raised in both Provinces. *Cæsar* had sent his Legions before him into *Spain*, with six thousand auxiliary Foot, and three thousand Horse, who had served under him in all his former Wars ; and he was furnished with the like number from *Gaul*, all chosen Troops. For hearing that *Pompey* was coming with his whole Force through *Mauritania* into *Spain*, he sent circular Letters to all the *Gallick* States, inviting by name those of the most known and approved Valour, and in particular a select Body of Mountaineers from *Aquitain*, where it borders upon the *Roman* Province. At the same time he borrowed Money from the military Tribunes and Centurions, which he distributed among the Soldiers. This Policy was attended with two great Advantages : it bound the Officers to him by the Obligation of Interest, and the Soldiers by the tie of Gratitude.

XXXVIII. *FABIUS*, by Letters and Messengers, endeavoured to sound the disposition of the neighbouring States. He had laid two Bridges over the *Sicoris*, four miles distant from each other, for the convenience of foraging, having consumed all the Pasture on this side the River. *Pompey's* Generals did the same, with much the like view, which occasioned frequent Skirmishes between the Horse. Two of *Fabius's* Legions, which was the ordinary Guard of the Foragers, passing one Day according to custom, and the Cavalry and Carriages following ; the Bridge broke down on a sudden, by the violence of the Winds and Floods, and separated them from the rest of the Army. *Afranius* and *Petreibus* perceiving it, by the Fascines and Hurdles that came down with the Stream ; detached immediately four Legions, with all their Cavalry, over



BOOK the Bridge that lay between the Town and their  
 I. Camp; and marched to attack *Fabius's* Legions.  
 Upon this, *L. Plancus*, who commanded the Es-  
 cort, finding himself hard pressed, seized a rising  
 Ground; and forming his Men in two Divisions,  
 posted them back to back, that he might not be  
 surrounded by the Enemy's Horse. By this dispo-  
 sition, tho' inferior in number, he was enabled to  
 sustain the furious Charge of their Legions and Ca-  
 valry. During the course of the Battle, the En-  
 signs of two Legions were perceived at a distance,  
 which *Fabius* had sent by the further Bridge to su-  
 stain his Party, suspecting what might happen, and  
 that *Pompey's* Generals would seize the Opportunity  
 offered them by Fortune, to fall upon our Men.  
 Their Arrival put an end to the Engagement, and  
 both Parties returned to their respective Camps.

XXXIX. Two Days after, *Cæsar* arrived in  
 the Camp with nine hundred Horse, which he had  
 kept for a Body guard. He began by re-establish-  
 ing in the Night the Bridge which had been broken  
 down, and was not yet quite repaired. Next Day  
 he took a view of the Country, and leaving six Co-  
 horts to guard the Bridge, the Camp, and the  
 Baggage, marched with all his Forces in three  
 Lines to *Lerida*, and stopped near *Afranius's* Camp,  
 where he remained some time under Arms, and of-  
 fered him Battle on an even Ground. *Afranius*  
 drew out his Troops, and formed them before his  
 Camp half way down the Hill. *Cæsar* finding that  
 he declined an Engagement, resolved to encamp  
 within four hundred Paces of the foot of the Moun-  
 tain; and to hinder his Troops from being alarmed  
 or interrupted in their Works, by sudden Incur-  
 sions from the Enemy; ordered them not to throw up a  
 Rampart, which must have appeared and betrayed  
 them



them at a distance ; but to cut a Ditch in front, fifteen Foot broad. The first and second Lines continued in order of Battle, as had been resolved from the beginning ; and the third carried on the Work behind them unperceived. Thus the whole was compleated, before *Afranius* had the least suspicion of his design to encamp there.

XL. In the evening *Cæsar* retreated with his Legions behind the Ditch, and passed the whole Night under Arms. Next Day he carried the Intrenchment quite round his Camp : and because Materials for a Rampart must have been fetched from a great distance, he contented himself for the present with a naked Ditch, as the Day before ; allotting a Legion to each side of the Camp ; and keeping the rest of the Troops under Arms, to cover those that worked. *Afranius* and *Petreius*, to alarm our Men, and disturb the Works, advanced with their Troops to the foot of the Mountain, and threatened to give Battle. But *Cæsar* trusting to the three Legions under Arms, and the defence of his Ditch, still persisted in his Design. At last, after a short stay, and without daring to come forward into the Plain, they retreated again to their Camp. The third Day, *Cæsar* added a Rampart to his Camp, and brought into it the six Cohorts, with the Baggage which he had left in his former Camp.

XLI. BETWEEN the City of *Lerida*, and the Hill where *Petreius* and *Afranius* were encamped, was a Plain of about three hundred Paces ; in the midst of which was a rising Ground, which *Cæsar* wanted to take possession of ; because, by that means, he could cut off the Enemy's communication with the Town and Bridge, and render the Magazines they had in the Town useless. In this

BOOK I. Hope, he drew out three Legions; and having formed them in order of Battle, commanded the first Ranks of one of them to run before, and gain the Place. *Afranius* perceiving his Design, dispatched the Cohorts that were upon guard before the Camp, a nearer way to the same Eminence. The Contest was sharply maintained on both sides: but *Afranius's* Party, who first got possession of the Post, obliged our Men to give ground; and being reinforced by fresh Supplies, put them at last to rout, and forced them to fly for shelter to the Legions.

XLII. THE manner of fighting of *Afranius's* Soldiers was, to come forward briskly against an Enemy, and boldly take possession of some Post; neither taking care to keep their Ranks, nor holding it necessary to fight in a close compact Body. If they found themselves hard pushed, they thought it no dishonour to retire and quit their Post; following in this the Custom of the *Lusitanians*, and other barbarous Nations; as it almost always happens, that Soldiers give into the Manners of the Country where they have long been used to make War. This manner of fighting however, as it was new and unexpected, disordered our Men, who seeing the Enemy come forward, without regard to their Ranks, were apprehensive of being surrounded; and yet did not think themselves at liberty to break their Ranks, or abandon their Ensigns, or quit their Post, without some very urgent Cause. The first Ranks therefore being put into disorder, the Legion in that Wing gave ground, and retired to a neighbouring Hill.

XLIII. CÆSAR, contrary to his Expectation, finding the Consternation like to spread through

the whole Army, encouraged his Men, and led the ninth Legion to their Assistance. He soon put a stop to the vigorous and insulting pursuit of the Enemy, obliged them to turn their Backs, and pushed them to the very Walls of *Lerida*. But the Soldiers of the ninth Legion, elated with Success, and eager to repair the Loss we had sustained, followed the Runaways with so much heat, that they were drawn into a Place of disadvantage, and found themselves directly under the Hill where the Town stood: whence when they endeavoured to retire, the Enemy again facing about, charged vigorously from the higher Ground. The Hill was rough, and steep on each side, extending only so far in Breadth, as was sufficient for drawing up three Cohorts: but they could neither be reinforced in Flank, nor sustained by the Cavalry. The Descent from the Town was indeed something easier, for about four hundred Paces; which furnished our Men with the means of extricating themselves from the danger into which their Rashness had brought them. Here they bravely maintained the Fight, though with great disadvantage to themselves, as well on account of the narrowness of the Place, as because being posted at the foot of the Hill, none of the Enemy's Darts fell in vain. Still however they supported themselves by their Courage and Patience, and were not disheartened by the many Wounds they received. The Enemy's Forces increased every Moment, fresh Cohorts being sent from the Camp through the Town, who succeeded in the place of those that were fatigued. *Cæsar* was likewise obliged to detach small Parties to maintain the Battle, and bring off such as were wounded.

XLIV. THE Fight had now lasted five Hours without intermission, when our Men, oppressed by the



BOOK I. the Multitude of the Enemy, and having spent all their Darts, attack'd the Mountain Sword in hand; and overthrowing such as opposed them, obliged the rest to betake themselves to flight. The Pursuit was continued to the very Walls of *Lerida*, and some out of fear took shelter in the Town; which gave our Men an Opportunity of making good their Retreat. At the same time the Cavalry, tho' posted disadvantageously in a bottom, found means by their Valour to gain the summit of the Mountain; and riding between both Armies, hindered the Enemy from harrassing our Rear. Thus the Engagement was attended with various Turns of Fortune. *Cæsar* lost about seventy Men in the first Encounter; among whom was *Q. Fulginius*, first Centurion of the *Hastati* of the fourteenth Legion, who had raised himself by his Valour to that Rank, thro' all the inferior Orders. Upwards of six hundred were wounded. On *Afranius's* side was slain *T. Cæcilius*, first Centurion of a Legion; also four Centurions of inferior Degree, and above two hundred private Men.

XLV. YET such were the Circumstances of this Day's Action, that both sides laid claim to the Victory: the *Afranians*, because tho' allowed to be inferior in Number, they had long sustained our Attack, kept Possession of the Eminence which occasioned the Dispute, and obliged our Men at first to give ground: *Cæsar's* Troops, because they had maintained a Fight of five Hours, with a handful of Men, and in a very disadvantageous Post; because they had attacked the Mountain Sword in hand; because they had driven their Adversaries from the higher Ground, and compelled them to take shelter in the Town. Mean-time *Afranius* fortified the Hillock which had been the Subject of Dispute,



Dispute, with a great Number of Works, and BOOK  
 posted there a large Body of Troops. I.

XLVI. Two Days after, a very unfortunate Accident happened. For so great a Storm arose, that the Water was never known to be higher in those Parts; and the Snow came down in such Quantities from all the Mountains round about, that the River overflowed its Banks, and in one Day broke down both the Bridges *Fabius* had built over it. *Cæsar's* Army was reduced to great Extremities on this Occasion. For his Camp, as we have before observed, was between the *Sicoris* and *Cinga*, two Rivers that were neither of them fordable, and necessarily shut him up within a space of no more than thirty Miles. By this means, neither could the States that had declared for him supply him with Provisions, nor the Troops that had been sent beyond the Rivers to forage return, nor the large Convoys he expected from *Gaul* and *Italy* get to his Camp. Add to all this, that it being near the time of Harvest, Corn was extremely scarce: and the more, as before *Cæsar's* Arrival, *Afranius* had carried great Quantities of it to *Lerida*; and the rest had been consumed by *Cæsar's* Troops. The Cattle, which was the next Resource in the present Scarcity, had been removed to Places of Security, on the breaking out of the War. The Parties sent out to forage and bring in Corn, were perpetually harrassed by the *Spanish* Infantry, who being well acquainted with the Country, pursued them every where. The Rivers themselves did not impede them, because they were accustomed to pass them on blown-up Skins, which they always brought with them into the Field. *Afranius*, on the contrary, abounded in all things. He had large Magazines of Corn already laid up, was continually receiving fresh

BOOK I. fresh Supplies from the Province, and had plenty of Forage. The Bridge of *Lerida* furnished all these Conveniencies without Danger, and opened a free communication with the Country beyond the River, from which *Cæsar* was wholly excluded.

XLVII. THE Waters continued several Days. *Cæsar* endeavoured to re-establish his Bridges, but could not get the better of the Obstacles occasioned by the swelling of the River, and the Enemy's Forces stationed on the opposite Bank. They found it the easier to prevent his Design, as the River was deep and rapid, and they could discharge their Darts all along the Bank, on that particular Spot where our Men were at work: whereas it was extremely difficult on our side to struggle with the force of the Stream, and at the same time guard ourselves against the Assaults of the Enemy.

XLVIII. MEAN-WHILE *Afranius* was informed, that a large Convoy, which was on its way to join *Cæsar*, had been obliged to halt at the River-side. It consisted of Archers from *Rovergue*, *Gaulish* Horse, with many Carts and much Baggage, according to the Custom of the *Gauls*, and about six thousand Men of all sorts, with their Domesticks and Slaves; but without Discipline or Commander, every one following his own Choice, and all marching in perfect Security, as if they had nothing more to apprehend than in former Times. There were likewise many young Gentlemen of Quality, Senators' Sons, and *Roman* Knights, with the Deputies of the States of *Gaul*, and some of *Cæsar's* Lieutenants; who were all stopped short by the River. *Afranius* set out in the Night with three Legions, and all his Cavalry; and sending the Horse before, attacked them, when they least expected it. The *Gaulish*

*Gaulish* Squadrons forming with great expedition, began the Fight. While the Contest was upon equal Terms, the *Gauls*, tho' few in number, bore up against the vast multitude of the Enemy; but seeing the Legions advance, and having lost some of their Men, they retreated to the neighbouring Mountains. This Delay saved the Convoy; for during the Skirmish, the rest of the Troops gained the higher Ground. We lost that Day about two hundred Archers, a few Troopers, and some Servants and Baggage.

XLIX. ALL this served to enhance the Price of Provisions, a Calamity inseparable from present Scarcity, and the Prospect of future Want. Corn was already at fifty Denarii a Bushel, the Soldiers began to lose their Strength, and the Evil increased every Moment. Nay so great was the change produced in a few Days, and such the Alteration of Fortune, that while our Men were in the utmost want of all kind of Necessaries, the Enemy had plenty of every thing, and were accounted victorious. *Cæsar* left nothing untried to remove the present Scarcity: he dismissed all the useless Mouths, and applied to the States that had declared for him, desiring them to send him Cattle where they wanted Corn.

L. THESE things were greatly exaggerated by *Afranius*, *Petreius*, and their Friends, in the Letters they sent upon this Occasion to *Rome*. Nor was *Fame* backward in adding to the Account; inso-much that the War appeared to be almost at an end. These Couriers and Letters having reached *Rome*, there was a great concourse of People at *Afranius's* House, many Congratulations passed, and multitudes of the Nobility flocked out of *Italy* to *Pompey*; some to carry the first Accounts of this grateful



BOOK I. ful News; others that they might not be so late as to subject them to the Reproach of having waited for the event of Things.

LI. AFFAIRS being in this extremity, and all the Passes guarded by *Afranius's* Parties, without a Possibility of repairing the Bridges; *Cæsar* ordered the Soldiers to build some light Boats, in imitation of those he had formerly seen in *Britain*, whose Keel and Ribs were of Wood, and the rest of Wicker, covered with Leather. When he had got a sufficient number, he sent them by night in Waggon, twenty-two Miles off his Camp. In these he embarked a good number of Soldiers, and sent them over the River; took Possession unexpectedly of a Hill adjoining to the Bank on the other side; threw up a Fortification before the Enemy thought of hindering him; posted a Legion in this Fortification; and then threw a Bridge over the *Sicoris* in two Days. By this means he recovered his Foragers, secured the Convoy, and opened a Passage for future Supplies. The same Day he detached a great Part of his Cavalry over the River; who falling unexpectedly upon the Enemy's Foragers, dispersed up and down without a suspicion of Danger, made a considerable capture of Men and Horses; and observing some *Spanish* Cohorts on the March to their Assistance, skilfully divided themselves into two Bodies; one to secure the Booty; the other, to receive, and return the Enemy's Charge. One of their Cohorts, which had rashly separated from the rest, and advanced too far before the main Body, was surrounded and cut to pieces by our Men, who returned over the same Bridge to the Camp, without loss, and enriched with a considerable Booty.

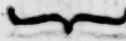
LII.



LII. WHILST these things passed at *Lerida*, the People of *Marseilles*, by the Advice of *L. Domitius*, equipped seventeen Gallies, eleven of which were covered. To these they added a multitude of smaller Vessels, that they might strike a Terror into our Fleet by their very number; and manned them with Archers, and the Mountaineers we have already mentioned, whom they encouraged to perform their Part by great Rewards and Promises. *Domitius* desired some of these Ships, and filled them with the Shepherds and Labourers he had brought thither with him. Thus furnished and equipped, they sailed with great Confidence in quest of our Fleet, which was commanded by *Decimus Brutus*, and rid at Anchor at an Island over-against *Marseilles*. *Brutus* was much inferior to the Enemy in number of Ships; but *Cæsar* had manned them with his best Soldiers, chosen out of all the Legions, and headed by Centurions of distinguished Bravery, who had petitioned him for this Service. These had provided themselves with Hooks and Grappling-Irons, and a great number of Darts, Javelins, and offensive Weapons of all sorts. Thus prepared, upon notice of the Enemy's Arrival, they stood out to Sea, and attacked their Fleet. The Conflict was sharp and vigorous. For the Mountaineers, a hardy Race, habituated to Arms, and trained up in War, scarce yielded to the *Romans* in Bravery; and having but just parted from *Marseilles*, still retained a lively sense of the Promises so lately made them. The Shepherds too, animated by the hopes of Liberty, and fighting under the Eye of their Master, did Wonders to merit his Approbation. The Townsmen themselves confiding in the nimbleness of their Ships, and the Skill of their Pilots, eluded the Shock of our Vessels, and baffled all their Attempts.

As

BOOK As they had abundance of Sea-room, they extended

I.  their Line of Battle, in order to surround our Fleet, or attack our Ships singly with a number of theirs, or in running along-side, sweep away a range of Oars. If they were compelled to come to a closer Engagement, setting aside the Skill and Address of their Pilots, they relied wholly on the Bravery of their Mountaineers. Our Men were but indifferently provided with Rowers and Pilots, who had been hastily taken out of some Merchants Ships, and knew not so much as the Names of the Tackle. They were incommoded too by the weight and lumpishness of their Vessels, which being built in haste of unseasoned Timber, were not so ready at tacking about. But when an Opportunity offered of coming to close Fight, they would boldly get between two of the Enemy's Ships; and grappling them with their Hooks, charge them on each side, board them, and cut to pieces the Mountaineers and Shepherds that defended them. In this manner they sunk part of their Vessels, took some with all the Men on board, and drove the rest into the Haven. In this Engagement the Enemy had nine Gallies sunk or taken.

LIII. THE Report of this Battle reaching *Lerida*, and *Cæsar* having finished his Bridge over the *Sicoris*, Affairs soon began to put on a new face. The Enemy dreading the Courage of our Horse, durst not disperse about the Country as formerly; but either foraged in the Neighbourhood of the Camp, that they might the sooner make good their Retreat; or by a long Circuit, endeavoured to avoid our Parties: and upon receiving any Check, or even descrying our Cavalry at a Distance, they would throw down their Trusses, and fly. At last, they were reduced to omit foraging several Days together,

ther, and resolved to pursue it only by night, contrary to the general Custom of War.

BOOK  
I.

LIV. IN the mean time the *Oscenses* and *Calagurritani*, jointly sent Deputies to *Cæsar*, with an Offer of their Submission and Services. The *Terraconenses*, *Jacitani*, and *Ausetani*, and not many Days after, the *Illurgavonenses*, who inhabit along the Banks of the *Iberus*, followed their Example. He only required them to supply him with Corn, to which they readily agreed; and having got together a great number of Carriage-Horses, brought it to his Camp. A Cohort of the *Illurgavonenses*, hearing of the Resolution taken by their State, deserted from the Enemy, and came over to *Cæsar*'s Camp. The Change was sudden and great: for the Bridge being finished, Provisions secured, the Rumour of *Pompey*'s March thro' *Mauritania* extinguished, and five considerable States having declared in his Favour; a great number of distant Provinces renounced their Engagements with *Afranius*, and entered into new ones with *Cæsar*.

LV. THESE things having struck a Terror into the Enemy; that he might not be always obliged to send his Cavalry so far about to forage, the Bridge lying above seven Miles from his Camp, he bethought himself of draining the River, by turning some of its Water into Canals thirty Foot deep, so as to make it fordable. The Work being almost compleated, *Petreius* and *Afranius* grew extremely apprehensive of being entirely cut off from their Provisions and Forage, because *Cæsar* was very strong in Cavalry. They therefore thought proper to quit a Post that was no longer tenable, and to carry the War into *Celtiberia*. What contributed still further to confirm them in this Resolution was,



BOOK I. that of the two contrary Parties, concerned in the late War; those who had declared for *Sertorius*, still trembled at the Name of the Conqueror, and dreaded his Power tho' absent; and those who had attached themselves to *Pompey*, continued to love him for the many Services he had done them: but *Cæsar's* Name was hardly known among these Barbarians. Here they expected considerable Reinforcements of Horse and Foot; and doubted not, by taking the advantage of Places, to be able to protract the War 'till Winter. In order to execute this Plan, they collected all the Boats to be found on the *Iberus*, and ordered them to be brought to *Ostogesa*, a City on that River, about twenty Miles from their Camp. Here they commanded a Bridge of Boats to be built; and having sent two Legions over the *Sicoris*, fortified their Camp with a Rampart of twelve Foot.

LVI. CÆSAR having notice of this by his Scouts, laboured Day and Night at his Drains with the utmost Diligence; and had already so far diminished the Water of the *Sicoris*, that the Cavalry could, with some Difficulty, pass over: but it took the Infantry as high as the Shoulders, who had therefore both the Depth of the River, and the Rapidity of the Stream to struggle with. Mean-while it was known, that the Bridge over the *Iberus* was almost finished, and *Cæsar's* Ford in great forwardness. This was a fresh Motive to the Enemy to quicken their March: wherefore leaving two auxiliary Cohorts for a Garrison at *Lerida*, they crossed the *Sicoris* with all their Forces, and joined the two Legions they had sent over before. *Cæsar* had now no other Remedy left but to harraßs and fatigue them with his Cavalry: for if he went with his whole Army over his Bridge, he lengthened his March  
prodi-



prodigiously, and gave *Afranius* time enough to get to the *Iberus*. Accordingly the Horse having forded the River, came up with *Petreius* and *Afranius's* Rear, who had decamped about Midnight; and making a Motion to surround them, began to stop and retard their March.

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LVII. At Day-break we discovered from the Hills near the Camp, that the Enemy's Rear was greatly harrassed by our Cavalry. Sometimes they obliged them to halt, and disordered their Ranks: at other times the Enemy facing about, charged with all their Cohorts at once, and forced our Men to give ground; who wheeling again as soon as they began to march, failed not to renew the Attack. At this Sight the legionary Soldiers running up and down the Camp, complained that the Enemy would escape out of their Hands, and the War necessarily be prolonged. They addressed themselves to the Centurions and military Tribunes, and desired them to beg of *Cesar* not to spare them; that they feared neither Danger nor Fatigue, and were ready to pass the River as the Horse had done. *Cesar* moved by their Alacrity and Intreaties, tho' he saw some Danger in exposing his Army to the Rapidity of a deep River, judged it yet proper to attempt and make trial of the Passage. Having therefore withdrawn from every Company such as were weak of Body, or of less Courage than the rest; he left them in the Camp with a Legion and all the Baggage. The rest of the Army happily passed the River, by the Assistance of a double Line of Cavalry, placed above and below them. Some of the Infantry were carried away by the Violence of the Current, but they were picked up and saved by the Horse below them; so that not one Man was lost. Having passed the River without loss, he

drew up his Army in order of Battle, and began to pursue the Enemy in three Lines: and such was the Ardor of the Soldiers, that notwithstanding the Army was obliged to make a Circuit of six Miles, notwithstanding the Time necessarily lost in crossing the River, they got up at the ninth Hour of the Day to the Enemy, who had set out at Midnight.

LVIII. WHEN *Afranius* and *Petreius* perceived them at some Distance, being with reason intimidated, they suspended their March, halted on an Eminence, and formed in order of Battle. *Cæsar* would not hazard an Action with his Troops thus fatigued, and halted likewise in the Plain. On this, the Enemy resumed their March, and he the Pursuit; which obliged them to encamp earlier than they designed. Hard by was a range of Mountains, and about five Miles farther, the Ways were difficult and narrow. The Enemy retired among these Mountains, to avoid the Pursuit of the Cavalry; and having placed Parties in all the Passes, to stop *Cæsar's* Army; hoped by this means to continue their March to the *Iberus*, without Fear or Danger. This was their great Affair, and what before all things they should have endeavoured to effect; but being fatigued by a long March, and their continual Skirmishes with *Cæsar's* Cavalry, they deferred it 'till next Day. *Cæsar* likewise encamped on a Hill that lay near him.

LIX. ABOUT Midnight the Cavalry having surprised some of the Enemy, who had adventured a little too far from their Camp in quest of Water; *Cæsar* was informed by them, that *Pompey's* Lieutenants were decamping without Noise. Immediately he ordered the Alarm to be sounded, and gave his Army

Army the signal to march. The Enemy, finding they should be pursued, kept still; being afraid of a nocturnal Flight, wherein they would have had greatly the disadvantage, on account of their heavy Baggage, which they had with them, and the superiority of *Cæsar's* Cavalry. Next Day *Petreius* went privately out with a Party of Horse, to take a view of the Country. *Cæsar* likewise detached a Squadron for the same purpose, under the command of *Decidius Saxa*. Both made the like Report in their several Camps; that for five miles together, the Country was level and open, but after that rough and mountainous; and that whoever should first get possession of the Defiles, might easily prevent the other Army from approaching them.

LX. UPON this a Council of War was held by *Petreius* and *Afranius*, to deliberate about the time of beginning their March. The greater number were for setting out by Night, in hopes of reaching the Defiles before *Cæsar* could have notice of their departure. Others argued against the possibility of decamping privately, by the Alarm given in *Cæsar's* Camp the Night before: " That the Enemy's Cavalry were continually patrolling in the Night, and had beset all the Ways and Passes: That a nocturnal Engagement was to be avoided, because in a civil War, the Soldiers were more apt to listen to their Fears, than the Obligations of the military Oath: That Shame, and the presence of the Centurions and Tribunes, the great Instruments of Obedience and military Duty, could have their proper Effect only in the Light, which rendered it of infinite importance to wait the Approach of Day: That in case of a Disaster, yet the bulk of the Army would escape, and be



BOOK "able to possess themselves of the Post in question."

I. This Opinion prevailed in the Council, and they resolved to set out the next Morning by break of Day.

LXI. CÆSAR having taken a view of the Country, decamped as soon as it was light, taking a considerable Circuit, and observing no particular Rout: for the direct way to the *Iberus* and *Oëtogesa*, lay in the rear of the Enemy's Camp. He was therefore obliged to march thro' Valleys and Precipices, and over steep Rocks, which the Soldiers could not climb, but by disencumbering themselves of their Arms, and returning them afterwards to one another. But not a Man murmured at these Difficulties, in hopes of seeing a speedy end of all their Labours, if they could but gain the *Iberus* before the Enemy, and intercept their Provisions. As in this March we pursued at first an opposite course, and seemed to turn our Backs upon the Enemy, *Afranius's* Soldiers, who observed us from their Camp, came forth with joyful Looks, and insulted us on our supposed Flight, imagining the want of Provisions obliged us to return to *Lerida*. Their Generals applauded themselves upon their Resolution of not decamping, and were confirmed in the notion of our Retreat, as they saw we had neither Horses nor Carriages, whence they concluded the scarcity must be exceeding great. But when they saw us, after some time, turn to the right, and that our advanced Guard had already gained the Ground beyond their Camp, there was not a Man so tardy or indolent, as not to perceive the necessity of decamping and opposing our March. Immediately they ran to Arms, and leaving a few Cohorts to guard the Camp, sallied in a Body, pursuing their way directly to the *Iberus*.

LXII.



LXII. ALL depended upon dispatch, and getting BOOK  
 the first possession of the Defiles and Mountains. I.  
 Our Troops were retarded by the difficulties of the Way, and *Afranius's* by the continual Attacks of *Cæsar's* Cavalry. But such was the situation of the *Afranians*, that even supposing them to gain the Hills first, they could only secure their own Retreat, without a possibility of preserving their Baggage, and the Cohorts left to guard the Camp; because *Cæsar's* Army getting between, cut them off from all Communication with their own Men. *Cæsar* arrived first at the Place in question; and having found a Plain beyond the Rocks, formed his Men in order of Battle against the Enemy. *Afranius*, who now saw our Army in his Front, at the same time that his Rear was continually harrassed by the Cavalry, halted on an Eminence, from whence he detached four *Spanish* Cohorts, to take possession of the highest Mountain thereabouts; ordering them to make all the dispatch they could to seize it, that he might get thither himself with the rest of his Forces, and changing his Rout, march them over the Hills to *Oetogesæ*. The *Spaniards* wheeling obliquely to take possession of the Place, were perceived by *Cæsar's* Cavalry; who charged them furiously, broke them at the first Onset, surrounded, and cut them in pieces in sight of both Armies.

LXIII. CÆSAR had now an opportunity of giving the Enemy an effectual Blow; whose Army, in the present Consternation it was under, would, he he was sensible, make but a faint Resistance; more especially as it was surrounded on all sides by the Cavalry, and would be obliged to fight on equal Ground. He was pressed on all hands to give the Signal. The Lieutenants, Centurions, and mili-

BOOK I. tary Tribunes, got round him, urging him not to delay the Engagement: "That the Soldiers were  
 " all eager for a Battle; whereas, on the contrary,  
 " the *Afranians* had given many marks of Fear:  
 " That they had neither dared to support their own  
 " Detachment, nor offered to descend from the  
 " Hill, nor been able to withstand the very first  
 " Charge of our Cavalry: That they had brought  
 " their Ensigns all into one Place, where they  
 " crouded confusedly round them, without observ-  
 " ing Ranks or Order: That if he was afraid to  
 " attack them on the Eminence, he would soon  
 " have an opportunity of more equal Ground, as  
 " *Afranius* would be obliged to remove for want of  
 " Water."

LXIV. CÆSAR was in hopes of terminating the Affair, without Bloodshed, or a Battle; because he had intercepted the Enemy's Provisions. Why therefore, even supposing the Event to be prosperous, should he unnecessarily lose any of his Men? Why should he expose to Wounds Soldiers who had deserved so well of him? Why, in fine, should he tempt Fortune? Especially as it redounded no less to the Honour of a good General, to gain the Victory by his Conduct, than by the force of his Arms. He was also touched with Compassion for *Afranius's* Soldiers; who, after all, were Fellow-citizens, and whom he must have slaughtered, when he could equally succeed without touching their Lives. This Resolution was not at all relished by the Army; who, in their discontent, openly declared, that since *Cæsar* did not lay hold of so favourable an Opportunity, nor let them fight when they had a mind, they would not fight when he had a mind. But nothing could shake him. Nay he even retreated a little, to give *Afranius* and *Petreius*

*Petreius* liberty to regain their Camp, which they did. He then posted Troops on the Mountains to guard the Defiles, and came and encamped as near the Enemy as possible.

LXV. THE Day after, *Pompey's* Lieutenants disturbed at finding their Provisions cut off, and all the Ways to the *Iberus* intercepted, consulted what was proper to be done. They had it still in their power to return to *Lerida*, or march to *Tarraco*. But while they were debating this matter, notice was brought them, that our Cavalry had fallen upon their Parties sent out in quest of Water. Upon this Intelligence, they formed several Posts of Horse and Foot, intermixed with legionary Cohorts; and began to throw up a Rampart from the Camp to the Place where they watered, that the Soldiers might pass and repass under cover, without Fear, and without a Guard. *Afranius* and *Petreius* divided this Work between them, and went to give Directions about it in person.

LXVI. In their Absence, their Soldiers found frequent opportunities of conversing with our Men, and sought out every one his Fellow-citizen and Acquaintance. They began by thanking them for having spared them the Day before, owning they were indebted to them for their Lives. Afterwards they asked them, if they might trust to *Cæsar's* Honour; testifying much Grief at being obliged to fight with their Countrymen and Relations, with whom they were united by the strictest Ties. At last they stipulated even for their Generals, whom they would not seem to betray; and promised, if the Lives of *Petreius* and *Afranius* were granted them, to change sides. At the same time they sent some of their principal Officers to negotiate with *Cæsar*; and, these Preliminaries to an Accommodation



BOOK I. dation being settled, the Soldiers of both Armies went into one another's Tents, so that the two Camps were now in a manner one. A great number of Centurions and military Tribunes came to pay their court to *Cæsar*, and beg his Protection. The *Spanish* Chiefs, who had been summoned to attend *Afranius*, and were detained in the Camp as Hostages, followed their Example. Every Man sought out his Acquaintance and Friend, who might recommend and procure him a favourable Reception from *Cæsar*. Things were carried to such a length, that *Afranius's* Son, a young Gentleman, treated with *Cæsar* by the Mediation of *Sulpicius*, to desire he would give his Word for his Life, and that of his Father. The Joy was general, they mutually congratulated each other; the one, in that they had escaped so imminent a Danger; and the other, in that they had brought to a happy Conclusion so important an Enterprize, without striking a Blow. *Cæsar*, in the judgment of all, was upon the point of amply reaping the fruits of his wonted Clemency, and every body applauded his late Conduct.

LXVII. AFRANIUS having notice of what passed, quitted the Work he was engaged in, and returned to the Camp; prepared, as it would seem, to bear with an equal mind whatever should happen. But *Petreius* was not wanting to himself. He armed his Slaves; and joining them to a Prætorian Cohort of Target-bearers, and some *Spanish* Horse, his Dependents, whom he always kept about him to guard his Person; he instantly flew to the Rampart, broke off the Conferences of the Soldiers, drove our Men from the Camp, and put all of them he could find to the Sword. The rest flocked together; where, alarmed at the danger to which they saw themselves exposed, they wrapped their Cloaks round their left Arms, drew their Swords; and  
trusting



trusting to the nearness of their Camp, defended themselves against the *Spanish* Target-bearers and Cavalry, till they had retreated to our advanced Guard, who screen'd them from any farther Assault.

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LXVIII. AFTER this he went through the whole Camp, begging his Troops with Tears, to have pity on him, and *Pompey* their General; and that they would not deliver them both up to the cruel Vengeance of their Enemies. Every one upon this flocks to the Head-quarters. There *Petreius* proposes to the Army to bind themselves by a new Oath, not to abandon nor betray their Commanders, nor to act separately, but all in concert, for the common good. He himself took this Oath first, and then exacted it of *Afranius*, afterwards of the military Tribunes and Centurions, and lastly of all the Companies man by man. At the same time an Order was issued, that all who had any of *Cæsar's* Soldiers in their Tents should signify it, that they might be put to Death in the sight of the whole Army. But the majority detesting this bloody Order, carefully hid those who were under their Protection, and procured them means to escape in the night. However the Terror they had been thrown into by their Generals, the Severity shewn in punishing, and the new Oath they had been obliged to take, defeated, for the present, all hopes of a Surrender, changed the Soldiers Minds, and reduced the War to its former State.

LXIX. *CÆSAR* ordered diligent Search to be made after such of the Enemy's Soldiers, as had come to his Camp during the time of Conference, and carefully sent them back. Some military Tribunes and Centurions voluntarily chose to stay with him;

BOOK I. him; whom he afterwards treated with great Distinction, promoting the Centurions to higher Ranks, and honouring the *Roman* Knights with the Office of military Tribune.

LXX. THE *African* Troops were destitute of Forage, and could not water without much difficulty. The legionary Soldiers had indeed some Provisions, because they had been ordered to bring two and twenty Days Corn with them from *Lerida*: but the *Spanish* Infantry and Auxiliaries had none; for they neither had Opportunities of supplying themselves, nor were their Bodies inured to carry heavy Burdens. Accordingly they every Day deserted in shoals to *Cæsar*. In this Extremity, of the two Expedients proposed, that of returning to *Lerida* appeared the safest, as they had still some Provisions in that City, and might there concert what further measures to pursue. *Tarraco* was at a greater distance, and they would of course be exposed to more Accidents by the Way. This Resolution being taken, they decamped. *Cæsar* sent the Cavalry before, to harass and retard them in their March; and followed himself with the rest of the Army. The Cavalry gave the Enemy no respite, being continually engaged with their Rear.

LXXI. THE manner of fighting was thus. Some light-armed Cohorts formed the Rear-guard, which, in a Plain, halted from time to time, and made head against our Cavalry. When they fell in with an Eminence, the very nature of the Ground furnished them with the means of defending themselves; because those who were first could cover them behind. But when a Valley or Descent came in the Way, the Van could give no Assistance to the Rear, and our Cavalry annoyed them with their

Darts

Darts from the higher Ground, which put them in imminent danger. In this case the Legions were obliged to halt, and endeavour to drive back the Cavalry a good way, after which they ran down the Valley precipitately, until they came to the opposite Eminence. For their Cavalry, of which they had a considerable Number, was so terrify'd by their ill Success in former Skirmishes, that, far from being of any service, they were forced to place it in the Center to secure it; and if any of them chanced to straggle from the main Body, they were immediately taken by *Cæsar's* Horse.

LXXII. DURING these continual Skirmishes, in which the Enemy were often obliged to halt, in order to disengage their Rear, it is easy to perceive, that their March could not be very expeditious. This was in fact the case; so that after advancing four Miles, finding themselves greatly incommoded by the Cavalry, they halted on an Eminence, and drew a Line before them, as it were to encamp; but did not unload their Beasts of Burden. When they saw that *Cæsar* had marked out his Camp, pitched his Tents, and sent his Cavalry to forage; suddenly, towards noon, they resumed their March briskly, hoping to be rid of the Cavalry which had so much incommoded them. But *Cæsar* set out immediately with his Legions, leaving a few Cohorts to guard the Baggage, and sent Orders to his Cavalry to return with all diligence. The Cavalry returned accordingly; and having overtaken the Enemy before the close of Day, attacked their Rear so vigorously, that they were almost routed; a great number of Soldiers, and even some Centurions being slain. *Cæsar's* whole Army came up, and threatened them with an immediate Attack.



## BOOK

I.

LXXIII. As they could then neither choose a proper Place for a Camp, nor continue their March, they were forced to halt where they were, far from any Water, and on very disadvantageous Ground. *Cæsar* did not offer to attack them, for the Reasons mentioned before: he would not even permit any Tents to be pitched that Day, that he might be the readier to pursue with all his Forces, should they attempt to escape either by Night or by Day. The *Afranians* perceiving the disadvantage of their Situation, employed the whole Night in throwing up Intrenchments, and disposed their Camp directly fronting ours. The same they did the following Day, from Sun-rise till the Evening. But the farther they extended their Camp, and produced their Lines, in order to better their position, the farther they went from Water; and to avoid one inconvenience, fell into another. The first Night no-body went out of the Camp for Water, and the next Day the whole Army was obliged to do it in order of Battle, so that they could not forage that Day. *Cæsar* wanted to humble them by these Misfortunes, and reduce them by Want and Necessity rather than Force. He began however to draw Lines round their Camp, the better to check their sudden Sallies and Eruptions, to which he foresaw they would be obliged to have recourse at last. Want, and the desire of marching with less difficulty, soon constrained them to kill all the Beasts of Burden.

LXXIV. Two Days were spent in forming and executing these Resolutions: on the third *Cæsar* had considerably advanced his Works. *Afranius* and *Petreibus*, sensible of the Consequences, drew all their Forces out of the Camp, and formed them in order



order of Battle. *Cæsar* presently called in his Work-BOOK  
men, assembled his Cavalry, and put his Army in I. 03  
a condition to receive them : for he was aware of  
the Hurt his Reputation might sustain, if, contrary  
to the Opinion of the Troops, and the earnest Ex-  
pectations of all, he should still seem to decline an  
Engagement. However, for the Reasons already  
mentioned, he resolved to keep only upon the de-  
fensive ; and the rather, because the Distance be-  
tween the two Camps was so small, that should he  
even put his Adversaries to rout, he could not flat-  
ter himself with the Hopes of a compleat Victory.  
In fact, from Camp to Camp was not above two  
thousand Foot : the Armies were posted on each side  
of this Space, which was left void for the mutual  
Charge and Assault of the Soldiers. On supposition  
therefore of a Battle, the nearness of their Camp  
furnished an easy Retreat to the vanquished. For  
this Reason he resolved to wait the Enemy's Charge,  
and not enter the first into Action.

LXXV. *AFRANIUS's* Troops were ranged in  
two Lines, consisting of five Legions ; and the  
Cohorts wont to be stationed in the Wings, formed  
a Body of Reserve. *Cæsar's* Army was upon three  
Lines ; in the first of which were posted four Co-  
horts, detached out of each of the five Legions ;  
in the second three ; and in the third the like Num-  
ber, all from their respective Legions : the Archers  
and Slingers were disposed in the midst, and the  
Cavalry on the two Wings. The Armies being  
drawn up in this manner, each General kept firm  
to his Resolution : *Cæsar*, not to engage, unless  
forced to it : and *Afranius*, to prevent the Progress  
of our Works. In this Posture they continued till  
Sun-set, when both Armies returned to their several  
Camps. The next Day, *Cæsar* prepared to finish  
his

BOOKhis Lines ; and *Pompey's* Lieutenants, as their last

I. Resource, endeavoured to find a fordable Place in the *Sicoris*. But *Cæsar* penetrating their Design, sent his light-armed *Germans*, with Part of his Cavalry over the River ; and posted many good Bodies of Troops along the Banks, at a small Distance from one another.

LXXVI. AT last, having no hope left, and being in want of every thing, Wood, Water, Forage, Corn, they demanded an Interview : and that it might be, if possible, in some Place out of the Sight of the Soldiers. *Cæsar* denied the last Part of their Request, but offered to grant them a publick Interview : whereupon *Afranius*, having given his Son for a Hostage, went to the Place appointed by *Cæsar* ; where, in the Presence of both Armies, he addressed him to this effect : “ That it was no  
 “ just matter of Blame, either in him or his Soldiers, to have preserved their Fidelity to their  
 “ General *Pompey* ; but that they had now sufficiently acquitted themselves of their Duty, and  
 “ suffered enough in his Cause, by the want of all  
 “ kind of Necessaries : That like wild Beasts  
 “ caught in a Toil, they were deprived of the most  
 “ common Enjoyments ; having their Bodies oppressed by Want, and their Minds overwhelmed  
 “ with Ignominy : That they therefore acknowledged themselves vanquished, and besought and  
 “ conjured him, not to make a rigorous Use of his  
 “ Victory, but to spare the Lives of his unhappy  
 “ Countrymen.” This Speech was delivered with all possible Marks of Humility and Submission.

LXXVII. CÆSAR replied : “ That he, of all  
 “ Mankind, had least Reason to complain, or implore Compassion : That all the rest had fully  
 “ done

“ done their Duty : himself, in forbearing to at-  
 “ tack him, with all the Advantages of Time and  
 “ Place, that the way to an Accommodation might  
 “ be the more open : his Army, in returning un-  
 “ touched the Men that were in their Power, after  
 “ Injuries received, and the Massacre of their Com-  
 “ rades : in fine, even his own Troops, in endea-  
 “ vouring to conclude a Peace, whereon they  
 “ thought their Safety depended. Thus all Orders  
 “ had shewn an Inclination to treat, while *Africanus*  
 “ and *Petreius* alone opposed an Accommodation ;  
 “ refusing both Interview and Truce, and barba-  
 “ rously murdering those, whom the Faith of a  
 “ Conference had enticed to their Camp : That it  
 “ had therefore happened to them, as frequently  
 “ happens to Men of Obstinacy and Arrogance ;  
 “ and they were forced to have recourse to those  
 “ Conditions, and earnestly solicit the very same  
 “ Terms, which not long before they had despised.  
 “ However, he would not take advantage of their  
 “ present Submission, or the favourable Circum-  
 “ stances in which he found himself, to demand  
 “ any thing tending to the Increase of his own  
 “ Power ; but only that they would disband those  
 “ Troops which they had now for so many Years  
 “ kept on foot against him. For with what other  
 “ View had six Legions been sent into *Spain* ; a se-  
 “ venth levied there ; so many powerful Navies  
 “ equipped ; so many able and experienced Officers  
 “ sent over. These mighty Preparations could not  
 “ be meant against *Spain*, or to supply the wants of  
 “ the Province, which having enjoyed a long run  
 “ of Peace, had no occasion for such extraordinary  
 “ Forces. Their real Aim was to pave the way  
 “ to his Destruction ; to effect which, a new Spe-  
 “ cies of Power had been introduced into the Com-  
 “ monwealth ; and the same Man appointed to  
 Vol. II. m “ command



BOOK " command in *Italy* at the Gates of *Rome*, and hold

I. " for so many Years, tho' absent, the Government  
 " of the two most potent Provinces of the Repub-  
 " lick. For this Reason the Magistrates were stript  
 " of their Prerogatives, and not suffered to take  
 " Possession of their Provinces, at the Expiration  
 " of the Prætorship or Consulship, as had always  
 " been the Custom; but particular Governors were  
 " sent, by the Choice and Management of a Fac-  
 " tion. For this Reason even the Excuse of old  
 " Age was disallowed; and those who had merited  
 " a Discharge by their past Services, were com-  
 " pelled to take Arms again, to compleat the  
 " Number of their Troops. In fine, for this Rea-  
 " son he alone had been denied that Justice, which  
 " was never refused to any General before him;  
 " that after having successfully served the Com-  
 " monwealth, he should be allowed to return  
 " Home, and disband his own Army, with some  
 " Marks of Honour, or at least without Ignominy.  
 " All which, nevertheless, he had hitherto born,  
 " and still resolved to bear with Patience: nor was  
 " it now his Design, to take from them their Sol-  
 " diers, and enlist them, as it would be easy for  
 " him to do; but to prevent their employing them  
 " against him. Therefore, as he had already in-  
 " timated, they must resolve to quit *Spain*, and  
 " disband their Forces: in which case he would  
 " injure no Man. This was his final Resolution,  
 " and the only Condition of Peace they were to  
 " expect."

LXXVIII. THESE Conditions were very agree-  
 able to *Afranius's* Soldiers; who, instead of being  
 punished, as they feared, were in some sort reward-  
 ed by the Discharge procured them. They plainly  
 shewed their Satisfaction. For, while the Place and  
 Time



Time of their Dismission were debating, they signified by their Gestures and Cries from the Rampart, where they stood, that they desired to be disbanded immediately: because no sufficient Security could be given for the Performance of what was put off 'till another time. After some Discussion of that Article by *Cæsar* and *Afranius*, it was regulated, that those who had Houses or Possessions in *Spain*, should be discharged on the Spot; and the rest near the *Var*, a River between *Gaul* and *Italy*. *Cæsar* on his side declared, that he would hurt no-body, nor force any one to take on in his Service.

LXXIX. *CÆSAR* undertook to find them in *Corn* until they got to the *Var*. He even promised to restore to them all they had lost in the War, that could be known again; himself indemnifying his own Soldiers, who hereby lost part of their Booty. By this Conduct he acquired their Confidence to such a Degree, that he was Arbiter of all the Disputes they had, either among themselves, or with their Commanders. The Soldiers being ready to mutiny about their Pay, because *Petreius* and *Afranius* affirmed it was not yet due, the matter was referred to *Cæsar*, who determined it to the Satisfaction of both Parties. About a third of the Army was disbanded during the two Days they continued here; after which the rest set out for the *Var* in this order. Two of *Cæsar*'s Legions marched at the Head, the others in the Rear, and the vanquished Troops in the Middle. *Q. Fufus Calenus*, one of *Cæsar*'s Lieutenants, presided over the March. In this manner they continued their Rout to the *Var*, where the remainder of the Troops were disbanded.

OF THE

COMMENTS

OF THE

CIVIL WAR

BOOK II

CIVIL

*C. JULIUS CÆSAR's*  
**COMMENTARIES**

OF THE

**CIVIL WAR.**

**BOOK II.**

## THE ARGUMENT.

- I. Trebonius continues the Siege of Marseilles. III. Nasidius arrives with a Fleet to the Relief of the Town. IV. The Inhabitants repair their Fleet, and join it to that of Nasidius. V. A Sea fight between Brutus and the People of Marseilles. VI. In which the latter are defeated. VIII. Trebonius raises a prodigious Tower against the Town. IX. Likewise a Musculus of uncommon size. X. By which a Tower belonging to the Enemy is overthrown. XI. Upon this the Besieged demand a Truce. XIII. Which they afterwards break, and in a sudden Sally, burn Trebonius's Works. XIV. Trebonius, with wonderful Expedition, raises a new and amazing Terrass. XV. Upon which the Besieged again treat of a Surrender. XVI. Mean-while M. Varro in farther Spain prepares to oppose Cæsar. XVII. Cæsar summons a general Assembly of the States at Corduba. XVIII. Varro, deserted by his Troops, goes over to Cæsar. XIX. Cæsar having reduced Spain, arrives before Marseilles. XX. The Marseillians surrender. L. Domitius escapes by Sea. XXI. About the same time C. Curio sets out for Africa. XXII. Where, at first, he wars successfully against Varus. XXXIV. But afterwards, Varus having received Supplies from King Juba, he rashly ventures a Battle; where, after some Advantages in the beginning, by means of his Cavalry, he is at last cut off with his whole Army.



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C. JULIUS CÆSAR's  
 COMMENTARIES  
 OF THE  
 CIVIL WAR.  
 BOOK II.

I. **W**HILE these things passed in *Spain*, *Trebonius*, *Cæsar's* Lieutenant, who had been left to carry on the Siege of *Marseilles*, raised Terrasses for two different Attacks, and approached with his Towers and Galleries. One of the Attacks was on the side of the Port; the other towards the Mouth of the *Rhone*, which empties itself into the Sea bordering upon *Spain* and *Gaul*. For *Marseilles* is washed by the Sea on three sides, and can be approached by Land only on the fourth; of which that Part where the Citadel stands, being very strong by Nature,

m 4

because

BOOK because of a deep Valley that runs before it, requires  
 II. a long and difficult Siege. For the compleating of  
 these Works, *Trebonius* drew together, from all  
 Parts of the Province, a great number of Work-  
 men and Beasts of Carriage; ordered Wood and  
 Officers to be brought; and having prepared all  
 things necessary, raised a Terrass eighty Foot high.

II. BUT so well was the Town provided with all  
 Requisites of War, and so great was the Multitude  
 of Machines to annoy the Besiegers, that no Mantles  
 were sufficient to withstand their Violence. For  
 they had wooden Bars twelve Foot in length, arm-  
 ed at the Point with Iron, which were shot with  
 such Force from their Balistæ, that they pierced  
 four Rows of Hurdles, and entered a considerable  
 way into the Ground. To resist the Violence of  
 these Batteries, the Besiegers made use of Galleries,  
 whose Roofs consisted of Pieces of Wood of about  
 a Foot in thickness, strongly compacted together.  
 Under this cover, the Materials necessary for raising  
 the Terrass were conveyed: and a Tortoise sixty  
 Foot long, composed of strong Beams, and armed  
 with every thing necessary to defend it against Fire  
 and Stones, went before to level the Ground. But  
 in spite of all endeavours; the greatness of the  
 Works, the height of the Wall and Towers, and  
 the multitude of Machines made use of by the Be-  
 sieged, greatly retarded the Approaches. Besides,  
 the Mountaineers made frequent Sallies, and set fire  
 to the Towers and Mount: which tho' our Men  
 easily sustained, driving them back with great loss  
 into the Town, yet failed not very much to incom-  
 mode the Works.

III.

III. IN the mean-time *L. Nasidius*, sent by *Pompey* to the Assistance of *Domitius* and the *Massilians*, with a Fleet of sixteen Ships, some of which were strengthened with Beaks of Brass; passed the Straits of *Sicily* unknown to *Curio*, landed at *Messana*, and raised so great a Terror in the Place, that being abandoned by the Senate and principal Inhabitants, he found means to carry off one of their Gallies: and joining it to his own Fleet, steered directly for *Marseilles*; having dispatched a Frigate before, to apprise *Domitius* and the Inhabitants of his coming, and press them to hazard a second Engagement with *Brutus*, when they should be reinforced by his Fleet.

IV. THE *Massilians*, after their late Defeat, had drawn as many old Ships out of the Docks as they had lost in the Engagement; and repaired and rigged them with wondrous Expedition. They were likewise well provided with Rowers and Pilots; and had prepared a number of fishing Barks, which they filled with Archers and Engines, and strengthened with Roofs, to shelter the Rowers from the Enemy's Darts. The Fleet being equipped in this manner; the *Massilians*, animated by the Prayers and Tears of their old Men, Matrons, and Virgins, to exert themselves in Defence of their Country in so pressing a Conjuncture; embarked with no less Confidence and Assurance, than they had done before their late Defeat. For such is the weakness of the human Mind, that things dark, hidden, and unknown, always produce in us a greater Degree of Confidence or Terror; as happened in the present Case: for the Arrival of *Nasidius* had filled all Men with an uncommon share of Hope and Eagerness.

The

BOOK The Wind springing up fair, they set sail, and rendezvoused at *Tauroenta*, a Castle belonging to the Town, where *Nasidius* lay with his Fleet. Here they put their Ships in order, armed themselves with Courage for a second Encounter, and entering readily into all the Measures proposed by *Nasidius*, left to him the Command of the left Wing, and stationed themselves upon the right.

V. BRUTUS failed to meet them with his Fleet considerably increased; for besides the Ships which *Cæsar* had caused to be built at *Arles*, he had also joined to it six more taken from the *Massilians*, which he had refitted and rigged since the late Action. Wherefore exhorting his Men to despise an Enemy, who had not been able to resist them when entire and unvanquished, he advanced against them full of Resolution and Confidence. It was easy to discern from *Trebonius's* Camp, and the Eminences around it, what passed in the Town. All the Youth that were left, the old Men, the Women, Children, and even the Guards upon the Walls, extending their Hands to Heaven, or repairing to the Temples, and prostrating themselves at the Altars, besought the Gods to grant them Victory. Nor was there a Man among them who did not believe, that their Safety depended wholly on the Issue of that Day's Action. For the choice of their Youth, and the most considerable Men of their City, were all on board the Fleet: insomuch, that in case of any Disaster, they had no Resource left: but should they obtain the Victory, they were in hopes of preserving their City, either by their own Forces, or the Reinforcements they expected from without.



VI. ACCORDINGLY in the Engagement, they behaved with the most determined Courage. The Remembrance of what their Wives and Children had represented to them at their Departure served to exalt their Bravery, in a full Persuasion, that this was the last Opportunity they should have of exerting themselves in Defence of their Country; and that if they fell in the Engagement, their Fellow-citizens could not long survive them, as their Fate must be the same upon the taking of the Town. Our Ships being at some Distance from each other, both gave the Enemy's Pilots an Opportunity of shewing their Address in working their Vessels, and flying to the Assistance of their Friends, when they were laid hold on by our grappling Hooks. And indeed, when it came to a close Fight, they seconded the Mountaineers with wonderful Resolution, and in Bravery seemed to yield but little to our Men. At the same time, a great quantity of Darts poured incessantly from their smaller Frigates, wounded a great many of our Rowers, and such of the Soldiers as were without Shelter. Two of their Gallies fell upon that of *Brutus*, which was easily distinguished by its Flag: but tho' they attacked him on both sides, he extricated himself with such Agility and Address, as in a short time to get a little before; which made them run foul of each other so violently, that they were both considerably shattered; one in particular had its Beak broken, and was in a manner totally crushed; which being observed by those of our Fleet that lay nearest, they suddenly fell upon and sunk them, before they could recover out of their Disorder.

BOOK VII. In this Encounter, the Ships under *Nasidius* were of no manner of service to the *Massilians*, but quickly retired out of the Fight. For as they were neither animated by the Sight of their Country, nor the Intreaties of their Relations, they were not very forward to expose their Lives to hazard, but escaped without hurt from the Combat. The *Massilians* had five Ships sunk, and four taken. One escaped to the Coast of hither *Spain* with those of *Nasidius*. Of the rest that remained, one was immediately dispatched to *Marseilles*, to carry thither the News of the Defeat. As soon as it drew near the Town, all the Inhabitants flocked out, to know what had passed; and being informed of it, appeared no less dejected, than if the City had been taken by Storm. However, they still continued their Preparations for the Defence of the Place with as much Diligence as ever.

VIII. THE Legionaries who had the charge of the Works on the right perceived, that a Tower of Brick built at a little Distance from the Walls, would be of great service to shelter them from the frequent Sallies of the Enemy. At first they made it very low and small, to guard against sudden Incursions. Hither they retired in case of Danger: here they defended themselves against the most obstinate Attacks of the Enemy; nay, even assaulted them in their turn, repulsed and pursued them. This Tower was of a square form, thirty Foot every way, allowing for the thickness of the Walls, which might be about five Foot. Afterwards, (being instructed by Experience, which is the best of Teachers,) they plainly perceived, that the higher it was carried, the more serviceable it would prove. The manner

manner of effecting it was thus: When the WorkBOOK  
was raised to the height of one Story, they laid a Floor over it, the extremities of whose Beams were  
concealed in the thickness of the Wall; that they  
might not, by appearing on the outside, be liable  
to be set on fire. Thence they continued the Wall  
directly upwards, as far as their Galleries and Man-  
tles would allow. Here they laid two Beams cross-  
wise, whose extremities almost reached the Angles  
of the Wall, for supporting the Floor, which was  
to serve as a Roof to the whole. Over these Beams  
they laid the Joists of the Roof, and boarded them  
with Planks. The Roof was so contrived as to  
project a little beyond the Wall, in order to suspend  
from it what might be necessary to shelter the Work-  
men, while employed in compleating the Story.  
This Floor was paved with Tiles and Clay, to ren-  
der it proof against Fire; and had besides a cover-  
ing of strong Mattresses, to break the force of Stones  
and Darts. At the same time they suspended from  
the Beams of the Roof, that projected beyond the  
Wall, Curtains made of strong Cables, wove to the  
Depth of four Feet, and which went round the  
three sides of the Tower that were exposed to the  
Engines of the Enemy; having experienced on  
former Occasions, that this kind of Cover was im-  
penetrable to any Dart or Engine whatever. When  
this part of the Tower was finished, roofed, and  
sheltered from the Enemy's Blows, they removed  
their Mantles to another; and by means of Engines  
elevated the Roof entire from the first Story, as far  
as the Curtains would allow. There, secure from  
all Insult, they laboured at the Wall; elevating the  
Roof a second time, and thereby enabling themselves  
both to continue the Work, and lay the interjacent  
Floors. In this manner they proceeded from Story  
to

BOOK to Story, mounting them one upon another, 'till  
 II. without Danger or Wounds, they had compleated  
 the number of six; leaving Loop-holes in convenient Places, for the Engines to play thro'.

IX. WHEN by means of this Tower, they thought they had sufficiently provided for the Security of the Works around it; they resolved to build a Gallery sixty Foot long, of Wood two Feet in thickness, to extend from the brick Tower to the Tower of the Enemy, and the very Walls of the Town. The form of the Gallery was this: First, two Beams of equal length were laid upon the Ground, at the Distance of four Feet from one another; and in these were fixed little Pillars five Foot high, joined at the top by Beams designed to support the Roof of the Gallery. Over these were laid Rafters two Foot square, fastened strongly with Nails and Plates of Iron. The upper Part of the Roof was composed of square Laths, four Inches thick, which were placed at a small Distance one from another, to bear the Tiles that were to be laid upon them. Thus was the whole finished with a sloping Roof, which being partly composed of Tiles and Mortar, was proof against Fire; and had besides a covering of Hides, to hinder the Mortar from being washed away by Spouts of Water. Over all we threw strong Mattresses, to skreen the Hides from Fire and Stones. This Work was finished close by the brick Tower, under cover of four Mantles; and immediately carried forward upon Rollers, in the manner Ships are lanced, 'till it unexpectedly reached the very Tower of the Enemy.

X.



X. THE *Massilians* astonished at so threatening and unlooked for a Machine, pushed forward with Leavers the largest Stones they could find, and tumbled them from the top of the Wall upon the Gallery. But the strength of the Wood resisted the violence of the Blows, so that they fell to the Ground without doing any hurt. Observing this, they changed their Design, and poured down upon us burning Barrels of Pitch and Tallow. But these likewise rolled along the Roof without Damage, and falling upon the Ground, were afterwards thrust away with Forks and long Poles. Mean-while our Soldiers, under protection of the Gallery, were endeavouring with their Leavers to undermine the Enemy's Tower. The Gallery itself was defended by the Tower of Brick, whence our Engines played without intermission; insomuch that the Enemy, driven from their Tower and Walls, were at last obliged to abandon their Defence. By degrees the Tower being undermined, Part of it fell down, and the rest was so shaken that it could not stand long.

XI. UPON this the Enemy, alarmed at so unexpected a Misfortune, discouraged by the Downfal of the Tower, awed by such a Testimony of the Wrath of the Gods, and dreading the Plunder and Devastation of their City; came forth in the Habit of Suppliants: and with out-stretched Hands, besought the Compassion of the Army and Generals. At this new and unexpected sight, all Acts of Hostility ceased; and the Soldiers laying aside their Ardor for the Fight, were eager to hear and get acquainted with the Proposals of the Enemy: who arriving in presence of the Army and Generals, threw

BOOK threw themselves at their Feet, requesting them to  
 II. suspend all further Operations 'till *Cæsar's* Arrival.

They told them : " That as the Works were now  
 " compleated, and the Tower destroyed, they were  
 " sensible the City could no longer hold out ; and  
 " therefore meant not to defend it : That in the  
 " mean-time, no Prejudice could arise to the Be-  
 " siegers from this Respite ; because, if they re-  
 " fused to submit upon *Cæsar's* coming, he would  
 " have it in his Power to treat them as he pleased.  
 " They added, that if the whole Tower should be  
 " brought down, it would be impossible to hinder  
 " the Soldiers from yielding to the Desire of Plun-  
 " der, by breaking into and pillaging the Town."  
 This, and much more of the same nature (for the  
*Massilians* are a learned People) they urged in a very  
 moving and pathetick Strain.

XII. THE Generals moved by these Remon-  
 strances, drew off the Soldiers from the Works,  
 discontinued the Attack, and contented themselves  
 with posting Guards in convenient Places. Com-  
 passion occasioned a kind of Truce 'till *Cæsar's* Ar-  
 rival ; so that on neither side were any Acts of  
 Hostility committed, but every thing was quiet and  
 secure, as if the Siege had been at an end. For  
*Cæsar* had earnestly recommended it to *Trebonius* by  
 Letter, to prevent, if possible, the City's being  
 taken by Storm ; lest the Soldiers, irritated by their  
 Revolt, and the Resistance they had found, should  
 put all the Youth to the Sword, as they threatened  
 to do. Nay they were even then hardly restrained  
 from breaking into the Town, and loudly mur-  
 mured against *Trebonius*, for delaying a Conquest,  
 which they looked upon as certain.

XIII. BUT the *Massilians*, a Nation without BOOK  
 Faith, aimed at nothing farther in all this, than to II.  
 find a Time and Opportunity to deceive us, and  
 put in practice the treacherous Purpose they had  
 formed. For after some Days, our Men suspecting  
 no Danger, but relying upon the good Faith of the  
 Enemy; while some were retired to their Tents,  
 others laid down to Rest in the Trenches, over-  
 powered by the long Fatigue they had undergone;  
 and all the Arms laid up and removed out of sight;  
 suddenly they sallied from the Town: and the Wind  
 being high, and favourable to their Design, set fire  
 to the Works. The Flame in a moment spread it-  
 self on all sides, insomuch that the Battery, the  
 Mantles, the Tortoise, the Tower, the Machines,  
 and the Gallery were entirely destroyed, before it  
 was possible to discover whence the Disaster arose.  
 The suddenness of the Accident made our Men im-  
 mediately run to their Arms, where every one took  
 what came first to hand. Some sallied out upon the  
 Enemy, but were checked by the Arrows and Darts  
 poured upon them from the Town; insomuch that  
 the *Massilians*, sheltered by their Walls, burnt with-  
 out any Difficulty the Tower of Brick and the Gal-  
 lery. Thus the Labour of many Months was de-  
 stroyed in an Instant, by the treachery of an Ene-  
 my, and the violence of the Wind. Next Day they  
 made the same Attempt, favoured by the same  
 Wind, and with yet greater Assurance, against the  
 Tower and Terrass of the other Attack. They ap-  
 proached them boldly, and threw plenty of Fire  
 upon them: but our Men, grown wise by their late  
 Misfortune, had made all necessary Preparations for  
 their Defence; so that after losing many Men, they

BOOK were obliged to retreat into the City, without effect-  
 II. ing their Purpose.

XIV. TREBONIUS immediately resolved to repair his Loss, in which he found himself warmly seconded by the Zeal of the Soldiers. They saw the Works which had cost so much Labour and Toil, destroyed by the Perfidy of a People, who made no scruple of violating the most sacred Engagements: they saw that their Credulity had been abused, and that they were become the Jest of their Enemies, which grieved and provoked them at the same time. But it was still difficult to determine, whence they might be supplied with Wood, to repair all these Works. There was none in the neighbourhood of *Marseilles*, the Trees having been all cut down for a great way round. They resolved therefore to raise a Terrass of a new kind, and such as History nowhere mentions before that time. They raised two Walls of Brick, each six Foot thick, and distant from one another nearly the breadth of the former Mount. Over these they laid a Floor; and to render it firm, besides its being supported on either side, placed Pillars underneath between the Walls, to bear it up where it was weakest, or had a greater stress of weight to support. There were moreover Cross-beams, which rested upon Niches in the Wall; and to render the several Floors proof against Fire, Hurdles were laid over them, which were afterwards covered with Clay. The Soldiers thus sheltered over head by the Roof, on the right and left by Walls, and before by a Breast-work, brought the necessary Materials without Danger; and by the Eagerness with which they laboured, soon compleated the whole; leaving Ouvertures in convenient Places, to sally out upon occasion.

XV.



XV. THE Enemy seeing we had repaired in so short a time, what they imagined must have cost us the labour of many Days; that there was now no hope left, either of deceiving us, or sallying out upon us with success; that all the Approaches to the City by Land, might in like manner be shut up by a Wall and Towers, so as to render it impossible for them to appear upon their Works, our Walls over-topping and commanding theirs, that they could neither discharge their Javelins, nor make any use of their Engines, in which their principal Hope lay; and that they were now reduced to the necessity of fighting us upon equal Terms, tho' conscious of their great Inferiority in point of Valour: they were forced to have recourse again to the same Conditions of Truce they had so ill observed before.

XVI. M. VARRO in farther *Spain*, having early notice of what passed in *Italy*, and beginning to distrust the Success of *Pompey's* Affairs, spoke in a very friendly manner of *Cæsar*. He said: "That he was indeed under particular Obligations to *Pompey*, who had made him his Lieutenant-general; but at the same time was no less indebted to *Cæsar*: That he was not ignorant of the Duty of a Lieutenant, employed by his General in an Office of Trust; but that he likewise knew his own Strength, and the Attachment of the whole Province to *Cæsar*." After this manner he talked in all Companies, nor declared expressly for either side. But when he afterwards understood, that *Cæsar* was detained by the Siege of *Marseilles*; that the Armies of *Petreius* and *Afranius* had joined, and

BOOK daily grew stronger by the Arrival of new Succours;  
 II. that there was room to hope for every thing; that  
 the hither Province had unanimously declared in their  
 Favour; that *Cæsar* himself was reduced to great  
 Straits at *Lerida*: of all which *Afranius* wrote large-  
 ly, magnifying his own Advantages: he began to  
 alter with Fortune. He raised Troops over the  
 whole Province; added thirty auxiliary Cohorts to  
 the two Legions he had already under his Com-  
 mand; formed great Magazines of Corn to supply  
*Marfeilles*, and the Armies under *Afranius* and *Pe-  
 treius*, ordered the *Gaditani* to furnish him with ten  
 Ships of War; caused a considerable Number to be  
 built at *Hispalis*; sent all the Money and Ornaments  
 he found in the Temple of *Hercules* to *Cales*; left  
 there a Garrison of six Cohorts, under the Com-  
 mand of *Caius Gallonius*, a Roman Knight, the  
 Friend of *Domitius*, who had sent him thither to  
 look after an Inheritance of his; conveyed all the  
 Arms, publick and private, to *Gallonius's* House;  
 spoke every where disadvantageously of *Cæsar*; de-  
 clared several times from his Tribunal, that *Cæsar*  
 had been worsted, and that many of his Soldiers  
 had gone over to *Afranius*, as he was well assured by  
 undoubted Testimonies: by all which, having struck  
 a Terror into the Roman Citizens of that Province,  
 he obliged them to promise him one hundred and  
 ninety thousand Sesterces, twenty thousand weight  
 of Silver, and one hundred and twenty thousand  
 Bushels of Wheat. The States well affected to *Cæ-  
 sar* he loaded with heavy Contributions; confiscated  
 the Effects of such as had spoken against the Com-  
 monwealth; quartered Soldiers upon them; har-  
 rassed them with arbitrary Judgments; and in fine  
 obliged the whole Province to take an Oath of Fi-  
 delity

delity to himself and *Pompey*. Hearing of what had passed in hither *Spain*, he prepared for War. His Design was, to shut himself up with his two Legions in *Cales*, where all the Provisions and Shipping lay; because he very well understood, that the whole Province was in *Cæsar's* Interest: for he judged it would be easy in that Island, with the Ships and Provisions he had, to draw out the War into length.

XVII. *CÆSAR*, though called upon by many and necessary Affairs to return to *Italy*, resolved however not to leave *Spain*, till he had entirely quelled the War in that Province: for he knew that hither *Spain* had many Obligations to *Pompey*, and that most of the Inhabitants were strongly in his Interest. Having therefore detached two Legions into farther *Spain*, under the Command of *Q. Cassius*, Tribune of the People, he himself advanced by great Journeys at the head of six hundred Horse. He sent Orders before to the Magistrates, and the principal Men of every State, to meet him by a certain Day at *Cordova*. All obeyed: every State sent its Deputies: nor was there a single *Roman* Citizen of any Consideration, who did not repair thither on this occasion. The very Senate of *Cordova*, of their own proper motion, shut their Gates against *Varro*, stationed Guards and Sentinels along the Walls, and detained two Cohorts called *Calonica*, which chanced to march that way, that they might serve to protect the Town. At the same time those of *Carmona*, the most considerable State in the Province, drove out of their City three Cohorts, which *Varro* had left to garrison the Citadel, and shut their Gates against them.

BOOK XVIII. THIS determined *Varro* to make all possible Dispatch, that he might reach *Cales* as soon as possible, lest his March should be intercepted; so great and apparent was the Affection of the Province to *Cæsar*. When he was advanced a little way, he received Letters from *Cales*, which informed him, "That as soon as *Cæsar*'s Edict was known, "the principal Men of *Cales*, with the Tribunes of "the Cohorts he had left in Garrison, had conspired to drive *Gallonius* from the City, and preserve "the Town and Island for *Cæsar*: that this Project "being formed, they had warned *Gallonius* to retire "of his own accord, while he yet might with "safety; threatening, if he did not, to come to "some immediate Resolution against him: that " *Gallonius*, terrified by so general a Revolt, had "accordingly left *Cales*." Upon this Intelligence, one of the two Legions known by the Name of *Vernacula*, took up their Ensigns in *Varro*'s presence, quitted the Camp, and marched directly to *Hispalis*, where they sat down in the Market-place and Cloisters, without committing the least Act of Violence: which so wrought upon the *Roman* Citizens residing in the Town, that every one was desirous of accommodating them in their Houses. *Varro* astonished at these Proceedings, turned back with design to reach *Italica*, but was informed that the Gates were shut. At last, finding himself surrounded on all sides, and the Ways every where beset; he wrote to *Cæsar*, that he was ready to resign the Legion under his Command, to whomsoever he should order to receive it. *Cæsar* sent *Sextus Cæsar* to take the Command; and *Varro* having resigned the Legion accordingly, came to him at  
Cordova.



*Cordova.* After giving him an Account of the State of the Province, he faithfully resigned all the publick Money he had in his hands, and informed him of the quantity of Corn and Shipping he had prepared. BOOK II.

XIX. CÆSAR assembling the States at *Cordova*, returned thanks severally to all who had declared in his Favour: to the *Roman* Citizens, for having made themselves Masters of the Town in his Name: to the *Spaniards*, for driving out *Pompey's* Garrisons: to the People of *Cales*, for having frustrated the Designs of his Enemies, and asserted their own Liberty: to the military Tribunes and Centurions sent thither to guard the Place, for having confirmed them in their Resolutions by their Example. He remitted the Tribute imposed by *Varro* upon the *Roman* Citizens; restored their Estates to those who had been deprived of them for speaking their Thoughts freely; distributed Rewards to a great many both in publick and private; and gave all room to hope for like Favours in the issue. After a stay of two Days at *Cordova*, he went to *Cales*; where he restored to the Temple of *Hercules* all the Treasures and Ornaments which had been carried off, and lodged in private Houses. He committed the Government of the Province to *Q. Cassius*, assigned him four Legions for that purpose; and embarking for *Tarraco* on board the Fleet which *Varro* had obliged the *Gaditani* to furnish, arrived there in a few Days. There he found Deputies from almost all the States of the Province: and having, in like manner as at *Cordova*, both publickly and privately rewarded some States; he left *Tarraco*, came by Land to *Narbonne*, and thence to *Marseilles*. There he

BOOK he was informed of the Law touching the Dictator-  
 II. ship, and that *M. Lepidus* the Prætor had named  
 him to that Office.

XX. THE *Massilians* overwhelmed with a Pro-  
 fusion of Calamities; reduced to the utmost Di-  
 stress by Famine; worsted in two different Engage-  
 ments by Sea; weakened by continual Sallies; af-  
 faulted by a heavy Pestilence, occasioned by the  
 length of the Siege, and their constant change of  
 Diet; (for they were obliged to feed upon old Meal  
 and musty Barley, which had been long treasured  
 up in their Magazines against an Accident of this  
 kind:) their Tower being overthrown; a great  
 Part of their Walls undermined; and no Prospect  
 of Relief from Armies or the Provinces, which  
 were now all reduced under *Cæsar's* Power: they  
 resolved to surrender in good earnest. But some  
 Days before, *Domitius*, who was apprised of their In-  
 tentions, having prepared three Ships (two of which  
 he assigned to his Followers, and embarked in per-  
 son on board the third) took occasion during a Storm  
 to make his Escape. Some of *Brutus's* Gallies,  
 which he had ordered to keep constantly cruising  
 before the Port, chancing to get sight of him, pre-  
 pared to give chase. That in which *Domitius* was  
 escaped under favour of the Tempest; but the two  
 others, alarmed at seeing our Gallies so near them,  
 re-entered the Port. *Cæsar* spared the Town, more  
 in regard to its Antiquity and Reputation, than any  
 real Merit it could plead. He obliged the Citizens  
 however to deliver up their Arms, Machines, and  
 Ships of War, whether in the Port or Arsenal: to  
 surrender all the Money in their Treasury: and to  
 receive a Garrison of two Legions. Then sending  
 the

the rest of the Army into *Italy*, he himself set out for *Rome*. BOOK II.

XXI. ABOUT the same time, *C. Curio* sailed from *Sicily* into *Africa*, with two of the four Legions which had been put under his Command by *Cæsar*, and five hundred Horse; having conceived the highest Contempt of the Troops headed by *P. Attius Varus*. After two Days and three Nights sailing, he landed at a Place called *Aquilaria*. This Place is about twenty-two Miles distant from *Clupea*, and has a very convenient Harbour for Ships in the Summer-time, sheltered on each side by a Promontory. *L. Cæsar* the Son waited for him at *Clupea* with ten Gallies, which *P. Attius* had taken in the War against the Pirates, and repaired at *Utica*, for the service of the present War. But terrified at the number of Ships *Curio* brought with him, he stood in for the Coast; where running his Galley on shore, he left her, and went by Land to *Adrumetum*. *C. Considius Longus* commanded in that Town with one Legion: and here also the rest of the Fleet repaired after *Cæsar's* Flight. *M. Rufus* the Quæstor pursuing them with twelve Gallies, which *Curio* had brought with him from *Africa* to guard the Transports; when he saw *Cæsar's* own Galley upon the Strand, he towed her off, and returned with the Fleet to *Curio*.

XXII. *CURIO* ordered him to sail directly for *Utica*, and followed himself with the Land-army. After a March of two Days, he arrived at the River *Bagradas*, where he left *C. Caninius Rebilus* with the Legions, and advanced before with the Cavalry, to take a view of the *Cornelian* Camp, which was judged

BOOK judged to be a Situation extremely advantageous.

II.

It is a high Rock, jutting out into the Sea, steep and rough on both sides, but with an easier descent where it fronts *Utica*. It lies little more than a Mile from *Utica* in a direct line : but as there is a Fountain about half way, which runs towards the Sea, and overflowing the Plain, forms a Morass; to avoid this, in marching to *Utica*, it is necessary to take a compass of six Miles. When he had taken a view of this Post, he went next and examined *Varus's* Camp, which was under the Walls of the Town, towards the Gate named the *Gate of War*. The Situation of it was extremely advantageous; for on the one side it was covered by the City of *Utica* itself, and on the other by a kind of Theatre which stood without the Walls, the Works round which took up so much room, that they rendered the Approach to the Camp extremely difficult. At the same time he saw all the Ways crouded with People, who out of fear of being pillaged, were carrying their most valuable Effects into the City. He detached the Cavalry against them to disperse them, and likewise have an Opportunity of making some Booty. Upon which *Verus* ordered six hundred *Numidian* Horse to advance to their Assistance, which he farther strengthened with four hundred Foot, sent by *Juba* a few Days before, to reinforce the Garrison of *Utica*. This King inherited from his Father an Affection for *Pompey*, and besides personally hated *Curio*, who, during his Tribuneship, had published a Law to deprive him of his Kingdom. The *Numidian* Cavalry soon came to Blows with ours; but were not able to stand their first Charge, retreating to their Camp with the loss of an hundred and twenty Men. Mean-time, upon the



the arrival of *Curio's* Fleet, he ordered Proclamation to be made among the Merchant Ships which were at *Utica*, to the number of two hundred, that he would treat them as Enemies, if they did not immediately repair to the *Cornelian* Camp. Upon this Proclamation they instantly weighed Anchor, and leaving *Utica*, sailed whither they were ordered; by which means the Army was plentifully supplied with every thing they stood in need of.

XXIII. THESE things dispatched, *Curio* repaired to his Camp at *Bagrada*, where with the joint Acclamations of the whole Army, he was saluted by the Name of *Imperator*. Next Day he led his Army towards *Utica*, and encamped not far from the Town. But before he had finished his Intrenchments, he was informed by some Parties of Horse, who were upon the scout, that a powerful Body of Horse and Foot had been sent by the King to *Utica*: at the same time a great Cloud of Dust began to appear, and soon after the Enemy's Van was in view. *Curio* astonished at a Motion so unexpected, sent the Cavalry before to sustain their first Charge, and keep them in play: he, mean-while, drawing off the Legions from the Works with all possible expedition, formed them in order of Battle. The Horse engaged according to Orders; and with such Success, that before the Legions could be duly drawn up, the whole Reinforcement sent by the King, who marched without Order or apprehension of Danger, falling into Confusion, at last betook themselves to flight. The Cavalry, wheeling nimbly along the Shore, escaped with little Loss into the Town: but great numbers of the Infantry were cut to pieces.

XXIV.

BOOK XXIV. NEXT Night two Centurions of the  
 II. Nation of the *Marfi*, with twenty-two private Soldiers, deserted from *Curio*, and went over to *Attius Varus*. These, either believing the thing themselves, or desirous to carry grateful Tidings to *Varus*, (for we easily believe what we wish, and readily hope that others will fall into our way of thinking,) assured him, that the whole Army was extremely averse to *Curio*, and would infallibly revolt, if he would but advance, and come to a Conference with them. Accordingly *Varus* drew out his Legions next Day. *Curio* did the same: and the two Armies stood facing one another in order of Battle, with a small Valley between them.

XXV. SEXTUS QUINTILIUS VARUS, who, as we have related above, had been made Prisoner at *Corfinium*, was now in the Enemy's Army: for *Cæsar* having granted him his liberty, he had retired into *Africa*. *Curio* had brought over with him from *Sicily* the very same Legions, who had revolted some time before to *Cæsar* at the Siege of *Corfinium*: so that excepting a few Centurions who had been changed, the Officers and Companies were the same as had formerly served with this very *Quintilius*. He made use of this Handle to debauch the Army of *Curio*, "and began with putting the Soldiers in  
 " mind of their former Oath to *Domitius*, and to  
 " himself that General's Quæstor; he exhorted  
 " them not to carry Arms against the old Companions of their Fortune, who had shared with  
 " them in all the Hazards of that Siege; nor  
 " fight in defence of that Party, who treated them  
 " ignominiously, and as Deserters." To these  
 Conf-

Considerations he added offers of a liberal Recompence, if they would follow his Fortune and that of *Attius*. But his Speech made no impression upon *Curio's* Troops, so that both Armies retired to their respective Camps.

XXVI. BUT an uncommon Panick soon spread itself over *Curio's* Camp, which the various Discourses of the Soldiers served only to increase. For every one had his Opinion, and added the Suggestions of his own Fear to that which he heard from others. These Reports spreading from one to many, and receiving Additions in every new Relation, there appeared to be several Authors of the same Notions: "That in a civil War it was lawful for every Soldier to choose what side he pleased: That the same Legions who a little before had fought on the side of the Enemy, might without scruple return again to the same Cause, since *Cæsar's* conferring Favours upon his Enemies, ought not to render them unmindful of prior and greater Obligations: That even the municipal Towns were divided in their Affection, and sided some with one Party, some with another." These Discourses proceeded not from the *Marfi* and *Peligni* alone, but ran like a Torrent through the whole Camp. However, some of the Soldiers blamed their Companions for this so great freedom of Talk; and others, who affected to appear more diligent than the rest, enlarged in their Accounts of it to the Officers.

XXVII. FOR these Reasons *Curio* summoning a Council of War, began to deliberate about the proper Remedies for this Evil. Some were for attacking

BOOK

II.

ing at all hazards the Camp of *Varus*, in order to find employment for the Soldiers, whose Idleness they considered as the cause of all the present Alarms. Besides, it was better, they said, to trust to Valour, and try the fortune of a Battle, than see themselves abandoned by their Men, and delivered up to the barbarity of the Enemy. Others were for retiring during the Night to the *Cornelian* Camp, where they would have more time to cure the Infatuation of the Soldiers; and whence, in case of a Disaster, they could with more safety and ease make good their Retreat into *Sicily*, by means of the great number of Ships they were there provided with. *Curio* relished neither of these Motions: the one, he thought, argued Cowardice; the other, a rash Boldness: to retreat, would have all the appearance of a shameful Flight; to attack, they must resolve to fight in a place of Disadvantage. “ With  
 “ what hope, said he, can we attack a Camp forti-  
 “ fied by Nature and Art? And what Advantage  
 “ can we draw from an Attempt, whence we shall  
 “ be obliged to retire with Loss? Does not Suc-  
 “ cess always secure to a General the Affection of  
 “ his Troops, whereas ill Fortune is evermore fol-  
 “ lowed with Contempt? And what would a De-  
 “ campment imply but an ignominious Flight, an  
 “ absolute despair of all Things, and an unavoid-  
 “ able Alienation of the whole Army? That we  
 “ ought not to let the modest think we distrust  
 “ them, nor the insolent that we fear them; be-  
 “ cause the Knowledge of our Fear only augments  
 “ the Presumption of the one, and an Apprehension  
 “ of being suspected abates the Zeal of the other.  
 “ But if what is reported of the discontent of the  
 “ Army be true, which I am yet unwilling to be-  
 “ lieve,



“ lieve, at least to the degree some pretend ; we  
 “ ought for that Reason rather to hide and dissem-  
 “ ble our Fears, than by an unreasonable discovery  
 “ of them to add strength to the Evil: That as in  
 “ some Cases it was necessary to conceal the Wounds  
 “ of the Body, that the Enemy might not conceive  
 “ hope from our Misfortunes ; so also ought we to  
 “ hide the Indisposition of an Army : That by re-  
 “ treating in the Night, as some proposed, they  
 “ would only furnish a fairer occasion to the ill-af-  
 “ fected to execute their Purpose : for Fear and  
 “ Shame are powerful Restraints by Day, but  
 “ Night entirely divests them of their Force : That  
 “ he was neither so rash, as to attack a Camp  
 “ without hopes of Success ; nor so blinded by  
 “ Fear, as to be at a loss what Measures to pur-  
 “ sue : That he thought it his Duty to examine  
 “ things to the bottom ; and as he had called them  
 “ together to deliberate upon the present state of  
 “ Affairs, doubted not, with their Assistance, to  
 “ take such Measures as would be attended with  
 “ Success.”

XXVIII. HE then dismissed the Council ; and  
 assembling the Soldiers, put them in mind of what  
 advantage their Steadiness and Zeal had been to  
*Cæsar* at *Corfinium*, and how serviceable towards the  
 conquest of the greatest part of *Italy*. “ It was  
 “ you, said he, that gave the Example, and all  
 “ the municipal Towns soon followed: their sub-  
 “ mission to *Cæsar* was your Work : and therefore  
 “ it is not without reason, that he is so particularly  
 “ attached to you, and that *Pompey* hates you sin-  
 “ cerely. It was you that obliged him to quit  
 “ *Italy*, without being forced to it by the loss of a  
 “ Battle.

BOOK " Battle. *Cæsar*, who ranks me in the number of  
II. " his dearest Friends, has committed my Safety to  
" your Care, with *Sicily* and *Africa*, without which  
" it would be impossible to defend either *Rome* or  
" *Italy*. You are now in the presence of those  
" who exhort you to abandon us : and indeed what  
" could be more desirable to them, than at the  
" same time to ensnare us, and fix upon you the  
" stain of an infamous Crime ? What worse Opi-  
" nion could an enraged Enemy testify of you,  
" than to suppose you capable of betraying those,  
" who own themselves indebted to you for all ;  
" and of throwing yourselves into the power of a  
" Party, who consider you as the Authors of all  
" their Misfortunes ? Are you Strangers to *Cæ-*  
" *sar's* Exploits in *Spain* ? Two Armies defeated ?  
" Two Generals overcome ? Two Provinces  
" brought under subjection ? And all this in the  
" space of forty Days, after *Cæsar* came within  
" sight of the Enemy. Is it likely that those,  
" who with Forces unbroken could not stand their  
" Ground, will be able to resist, now they are van-  
" quished ? And will you, who followed *Cæsar* be-  
" fore Fortune declared in his Favour, now return  
" to the vanquished, when Fortune has already de-  
" cided the Quarrel, and you are upon the point  
" of obtaining the Reward of your Services ?  
" They charge you with having abandoned and be-  
" trayed them, contrary to the faith of Oaths. But  
" it is indeed true that you abandoned *Domitius* ?  
" Or did not he rather meanly abandon you, at a  
" time when you were ready to suffer every thing  
" for his sake ? Did he not, unknown to you, re-  
" solve to seek his Safety in flight ? And were you  
" not, after being thus basely betrayed by him, in-  
" debted,

“debted to *Cæsar*’s Goodness for your Preservation?  
 “How could your Oath bind you to one, who  
 “after throwing away the Ensigns of his Authority,  
 “and divesting himself of his Office, surrendered  
 “himself a private Man and a Captive into the  
 “power of another? The new Engagement you  
 “were then brought under alone subsists at present,  
 “and ought quite to obliterate that, which the sur-  
 “render of your General, and his loss of Liberty,  
 “have made void. But tho’ I doubt not of your  
 “being satisfied with *Cæsar*, you may perhaps have  
 “taken Offence at me. And, indeed, I have no  
 “thought of mentioning any Services I may have  
 “done you: which, as yet, come far short of my  
 “Intentions, and your Expectations: but you  
 “are not ignorant, that the Rewards of military  
 “Service come not till after the conclusion of the  
 “War; and I believe you little doubt what the  
 “issue of this will be. Nor need I on this occa-  
 “sion decline taking notice of the Diligence I have  
 “used, the Progress already made, and the good  
 “Fortune that has hitherto attended me. Are you  
 “dissatisfied that I have landed my Army safe in  
 “*Africa*, without the loss of a single Ship? That  
 “I dispersed the Enemy’s Fleet at the first Onset?  
 “That within the space of two Days I have twice  
 “defeated their Cavalry? That I forced two hun-  
 “dred of their Merchant-men to quit the Port of  
 “*Utica* and join me? and that I have reduced them  
 “to a situation where it is impossible for them to  
 “receive any Supplies either by Land or Sea? Can  
 “you think of abandoning a Cause conducted by  
 “such Leaders, and attended with such Success;  
 “to follow the Fortune of those who so ignomi-  
 “niously delivered up *Corfinium*, relinquished *Italy*,

BOOK II. “ surrendered *Spain*, and have already sustained considerable Losses in the *African War*? I never pretended to more than being a Follower of *Cæsar*: it was you that honoured me with the Title of *Imperator*; which I am this moment ready to resign, if you think me unworthy of the Favour. Restore me my former Name, that it may not be said I was honoured, to be covered afterwards with the greater Ignominy.”

XXIX. THESE Remonstrances made such an Impression upon the Soldiers, that they frequently interrupted him while he was speaking, and appeared deeply touched at his suspecting their Fidelity. As he retired, they all gathered round him, exhorting him not to be discouraged, or scruple to hazard a Battle, and make Trial of their Fidelity and Bravery. This Behaviour of the Troops wrought so great a Change in the Minds of the Officers, that *Curio*, with the joint Concurrence of them all, resolved to give Battle the first Opportunity that offered. Accordingly drawing out his Men next Day, in the same Place he had done for some time past, he ranged them in Order of Battle. *Attius Varus* did the same; that if an Opportunity offered, either of corrupting the Soldiers, or fighting to advantage, he might be in readiness to lay hold of it.

XXX. BETWEEN the two Armies lay a Valley, as we have observed above; not indeed considerable for its Breadth, but steep and difficult of Ascent. Both sides waited till the other should pass it, that they might engage to more Advantage. *Curio* observing that all the Horse on *Varus's* right Wing,



Wing, together with the light-armed Foot, had BOOK  
 ventured down into this Valley; detached his Ca- II.  
 valry against them, with two Cohorts of *Marruci-*  
*nians*: whose first Shock the Enemy were not able  
 to sustain, but returned full speed to their own Men,  
 leaving the light-armed Foot behind, who were  
 surrounded and cut to Pieces in sight of *Varus's*  
 Army; which fronting that way, was witness to  
 the Flight of the one, and Slaughter of the other.  
 Upon this *Rebilus*, one of *Cæsar's* Lieutenants,  
 whom *Curio* had brought with him from *Sicily*, on  
 account of his consummate Knowledge in the Art  
 of War; "Why, says he, do you delay seizing  
 "the favourable Moment? You see the Enemy  
 "struck with Terror." *Curio* made no Answer,  
 only desired his Soldiers to remember what they  
 had promised the Day before; and marching the  
 first, commanded them to follow him. The Val-  
 ley was so steep and difficult, that the first Ranks  
 could not ascend, but with the assistance of those  
 that came after. But the *Attinian* Army was so di-  
 spirited with Fear, and the Flight and Slaughter of  
 their Troops, that they never thought of making  
 Resistance; fancying themselves already surround-  
 ed by our Cavalry: so that before we could arrive  
 within reach of Dart, the whole Army of *Varus*  
 fled, and retreated to their Camp.

XXXI. In this Flight, one *Fabius Pelignus*, a  
 Centurion of the lowest Rank in *Curio's* Army, as  
 he was pursuing the Fugitives, called with a loud  
 Voice to *Varus*, as if he had been one of his own  
 Men, who wanted to admonish him of something.  
*Varus* hearing himself named several times, turned  
 and stood still, demanding who he was, and what

BOOK II. he wanted. *Fabius* aimed a Blow at his Breast with his Sword, and would certainly have killed him, had not *Varus* warded it off with his Shield. *Fabius* himself was soon after surrounded and slain. Mean-while the Multitude of Fugitives so closed up the Gates of the Camp, and pressed upon one another in such manner, that more were crowded to Death, than fell either in the Battle or Pursuit. Nay the Camp itself was very near being taken; because great Numbers instead of stopping there to defend it, made directly for the Town. But both the Nature of the Ground, and the Fortifications themselves, prevented the Assault; and the rather, as *Curio's* Soldiers being armed only for Battle, had brought with them none of the necessary Tools to force a Camp. *Curio* brought back his Army without the loss of a Man, *Fabius* excepted: of the Enemy about six hundred were killed, and a thousand wounded. After *Curio* had drawn off his Men, all the wounded quitted the Camp, and retired into the City, as did a great many others, who overcome by Fear, sheltered themselves there also under the same pretence. *Varus* observing this, and that an universal dread had seized the Army; left only a Trumpet in the Camp, with a few Tents for shew; and about midnight, silently entered the Town with all his Forces.

XXXII, NEXT Day *Curio* resolved to besiege *Utica*, and draw a Line of Circumvallation round it. There was in the Town a Multitude of Men unfit for the Fatigues of War, through a long Enjoyment of Peace. The Inhabitants themselves were strongly attached to *Cæsar*, for ancient Fa-

vours

vours received from him. The Senate was composed of People greatly differing in their Tempers. and the Losses already sustained spread Terror through all Ranks. A Surrender was publickly talked of; and all concurred in soliciting *Varus* not to ruin them by his Obstinacy and Perverseness. While these things were in agitation, Messengers sent by King *Juba* arrived, who informed them of the approach of his Army, and exhorted them to defend the City; which contributed not a little to confirm their wavering Minds.

XXXIII. *CURIO* received the same News; but for some time would not believe it, so greatly did he confide in his good Fortune. Besides, *Cæsar's* Success in *Spain* was already known in *Africa*; whence he concluded it improbable that *Juba* would attempt any thing against him. But when he was for certain informed of his being within twenty-five Miles of *Utica* with his whole Army, he retired from before the Town to the *Cornelian* Camp, laid in great Quantities of Corn and Wood, began to fortify himself, and sent directly to *Sicily* for the Cavalry, and the two Legions he had left there. The Camp itself was very advantageous for protracting the War; being strong both by Nature and Art, near the Sea, and abounding in Water and Salt, great Quantities of which had been carried thither from the neighbouring Salt-pits. Neither ran he any hazard of being straitened for Wood and Corn, as the Country abounded in Trees and Grain. He resolved therefore, with the consent of the whole Army, to wait here the arrival of the rest of the Troops, and make Preparation for continuing the War.

XXXIV.

BOOK XXXIV. THIS Resolution being taken, and  
II. meeting with a general Approbation; some of the  
Townsmen, who had deserted to *Curio*, informed him, that the War in which *Juba* was engaged with the *Leptitani*, having obliged him to return into his own Kingdom, he had only sent his Lieutenant *Sabura*, with a small Body of Forces, to the Assistance of the *Uticans*. Upon this Intelligence, to which he too hastily gave Credit, he changed his Design, and resolved to give Battle. The Fire of Youth, his Courage, good Success, and Self-confidence, contributed greatly to confirm him in this Resolution. Urged by these Considerations, about the beginning of the Night, he sent all his Cavalry towards the Enemy's Camp, which was upon the River *Bagradas*, and where *Sabura*, of whom we have spoken before, commanded in chief. But the King followed with all his Forces, and was not above six Miles behind him. The Cavalry which *Curio* had detached, marched all Night, and coming unexpectedly upon the Enemy, attacked them before they were ready to receive the Charge: for the *Numidians*, according to the Custom of that barbarous Country, were encamped without Order or Rule. Falling upon them, therefore, in this Confusion, and oppressed with Sleep, they slew great Numbers, and obliged the rest to fly in the utmost Consternation: after which they returned to *Curio*, with the Prisoners they had taken.

XXXV. *CURIO* had set out with all his Forces about the fourth Watch of the Night, leaving only five Cohorts to guard his Camp. After a March of six Miles he was met by his Cavalry, who informed



formed him of all that had passed. He asked the Prisoners, who commanded at *Bagradas*? they answered, *Sabura*. Upon this, without making any farther Enquiries, for fear of being detained too long, he turned to the Troops next to him, and said: "Do you not see, Fellow-soldiers, that the Report of the Prisoners corresponds exactly with the Intelligence given by the Deserters? *Juba* is not with the Army. It must consist of but a few Troops, since they were not able to withstand the Charge of a small Body of Horse. Haste, therefore, in the Pursuit of Glory, Booty, and Victory." What the Cavalry had done was indeed considerable, because they were but few in number in comparison of the *Numidians*: but as Vanity always makes us believe our Merit to be greater than it is, they themselves boasted immoderately of the Action, and endeavoured to enhance the Value of it. They made a mighty Parade of the Booty. The Prisoners too, as well Infantry as Cavalry, marched in Procession before them. And indeed the whole Army imagined, that to delay the Battle was no other than to delay the Victory: so that the Ardor of the Troops perfectly seconded *Curio's* Hopes. He therefore hastened his March, ordering the Horse to follow, that he might as soon as possible come up with the frightened Enemy. But as they were fatigued with their late March, they found themselves unable to keep pace with the Army; but stopped, some in one Place, some in another: which, however, retarded not *Curio's* Hopes.

XXXVI. *JUBA* having notice from *Sabura* of the Action in the Night, detached to his Assistance

two

BOOK II. two thousand *Spanish* and *Gallick* Horſe, of his ordinary Guard, with that part of the Infantry in which he put the greateſt Confidence. Himſelf followed leiſurely with the reſt of the Troops, and about forty Elephants ; ſuſpecting that *Curio*, who had ſent the Cavalry before, could not be far off with his Army. *Sabura* drew up his Horſe and Foot, ordering them to give Ground upon the Enemy's Attack ; and, as through Fear, counterſeit a Flight. Mean-while he told them, that he would give the Signal of Battle when he ſaw proper, and direct their Motions as the Caſe might require.

XXXVII. *CURIO* flattered with new Hopes, and imagining by the Enemy's Motions, that they were preparing for Flight, made his Troops come down from the Mountain into the Plain ; and advancing ſtill farther, tho' his Army was already very much fatigued, having marched upwards of ſixteen miles, halted at laſt to give the Men breath. That Moment *Sabura* founded the Charge, led on his Men in order of Battle, and went from Rank to Rank to animate the Troops : but he ſuffered only the Cavalry to come to Blows, keeping the Infantry at a diſtance within fight. *Curio* was not wanting on his ſide, but exhorted his Men to place all their hopes in their Valour. And indeed neither the Infantry, tho' fatigued with their March ; nor the Cavalry, tho' few in number, and ſpent with Toil ; ſhewed any want of Valour, or backwardneſs to fight : tho' the laſt, in particular, did not exceed two hundred ; the reſt having ſtopt by the way. Theſe, wherever they attacked the Enemy, obliged them to give ground : but they could neither purſue

sue far, nor drive their Horses on with Impetuosity. On the other hand, the *Numidian* Cavalry began to surround our Men, and charge them in the Rear. When the Cohorts advanced against them, they fell back, and by the quickness of their Retreat, eluded the Charge : but immediately returning, they got behind our Men, and cut them off from the rest of the Army. Thus it was equally dangerous for them to maintain their Ranks, or advance to Battle. The Enemy's Forces increased continually, by the Reinforcements sent from the King : ours, on the contrary, were disabled by Fatigue. Neither could our wounded Men retire, or be sent to any place of Safety, the whole Army being invested by the Enemy's Horse. These despairing of safety ; as is usual for Men in the last moments of Life, either lamented their own Fate, or recommended their Relations to their Fellow-Soldiers, if any should be so fortunate as to escape that Danger. The whole Army was filled with Consternation and Grief.

XXXVIII. CURIO perceiving the general Alarm, and that neither his Exhortations nor Prayers were regarded, ordered the Troops to retire with the Standards to the nearest Mountains, as the only Resource in the present Exigence. But the Cavalry detached by *Sabura* had already seized them. All hope being now lost, some were slain endeavouring to fly : others threw themselves upon the Ground, partly in despair, partly unable to make any Efforts for their own Safety. At this moment *Cn. Domitius*, who commanded the Horse, addressing *Curio*, intreated him to regain his Camp with the few Cavalry that remained, promising not to abandon

BOOK him. "Can I, says *Curio*, look *Cæsar* in the Face,

II. "after having lost an Army he had committed to  
 "my Charge?" So saying, he continued fighting  
 'till he was slain. Very few of the Cavalry escaped,  
 those only excepted who had stopt to refresh their  
 Horses: for perceiving at a distance the rout of the  
 whole Army, they returned to their Camp. All  
 the Infantry were slain to a Man.

XXXIX. WHEN this Disaster was known, *M. Rufus* the Quæstor, whom *Curio* had left to guard the Camp, intreated his Men not to lose Courage. They begged and requested him to reconduct them into *Sicily*: which he promised: and ordered the Masters of the Transports to have their Ships in readiness at Night along the Shore. But Fear had so universally seized the Minds of the Soldiers, that some cried out *Juba* was arrived with his Troops; some that *Varus* approached with the Legions, the Dust of whose March they pretended to discern; and others, that the Enemy's Fleet would be upon them in an instant: though there was not the least ground for these Reports. The Consternation thus becoming general, each Man thought only of his own Safety. Those who were already embarked sailed immediately: and their Flight drew after it that of the Transports; so that only a very few small Frigates obeyed the Summons, and came to the general Rendezvous. The Disorder was so great upon the Shore, every one striving who should first embark, that many Boats sunk under the Croud, and others were afraid to come near the Land.

XL. THUS only a few Soldiers and aged Men, who either through Interest or Compassion were received



ceived on board, or had Strength enough to swim to the Transports, got safe to *Sicily*. The rest de-BOOK  
puting their Centurions to *Varus* by Night, surren- II.  
dered to him. *Juba* coming up next Day, claimed them as his Property, put the greater Number to the Sword, and sent a few of the most considerable, whom he had selected for that purpose, into *Nu-midia*. *Varus* complained of this Violation of his Faith; but durst not make any Resistance. The King made his Entrance into the City on horseback, followed by a great Number of Senators, among whom was *Servius Sulpicius*, and *Licinius Damaspus*. Here he staid a few Days, to give what Orders he thought necessary: and then returned with all his Forces into his own Kingdom.

C. JULIUS.



*C. JULIUS CÆSAR's*  
**COMMENTARIES**  
OF THE  
**CIVIL WAR.**  
**BOOK III.**

VOL. II.

B

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*C. JULIUS CÆSAR*'s  
 COMMENTARIES  
 OF THE  
 CIVIL WAR.  
 BOOK III.

I. **C**ÆSAR, as Dictator, holding the Comitia, *Julius Cæsar*, and *P. Servilius*, were chosen Consuls: for this was the Year in which he could be elected to that Magistracy, consistent with the Laws. This Affair being dispatched; as *Cæsar* saw publick Credit at a stand over all *Italy*, because no body paid their Debts; he ordered that Arbiters should be chose, who should make an Estimate of the Possessions of all Debtors, and should convey them in Payment to their Creditors, at the Price they bore before the War. This Regulation he thought best calculated to restore publick Credit, and prevent the Apprehension of a general Abolition of Debts, which is but too common a Consequence of Wars and civil Dissensions. At the same time, in consequence of an Address to the People, he re-established the Prætors and Tribunes, who had been deprived upon a Charge of Bribery, at a time when *Pompey* awed the City by his Legions. These Decisions were so little conformable to Law, that Sentence was often

BOOK  
 III.

BOOK pronounced by a Party of Judges, different from  
 III. those who attended the Pleadings. As these had  
 made him an offer of their Service in the beginning  
 of the War, he accounted the Obligation the same  
 as if he had actually accepted of their Friendship :  
 but thought it better their Restoration should seem  
 to flow from the People, than appear a mere Act of  
 Bounty in him ; that he might neither be charged  
 with Ingratitude to his Followers, nor accused of  
 invading the Prerogatives of the People.

II. ALL this Business, with the Celebration of  
 the *Latin* Festivals, and the holding the Comitia  
 for Elections, took him up only eleven Days, at  
 the end of which he abdicated the Dictatorship ;  
 and immediately set out from *Rome*, in order to  
 reach *Brundisium*, where he had ordered twelve Le-  
 gions, with all the Cavalry, to rendezvous. But  
 he had scarce Ships to carry over twenty thousand  
 legionary Soldiers, and six hundred Horse ; which  
 alone hindered him from putting a speedy end to  
 the War. Besides, the Legions were considerably  
 weakened by their many Losses in the *Gallick* War,  
 and the long and painful March from *Spain* : and  
 an unhealthy Autumn in *Apulia*, and about *Brun-*  
*dusium*, with the change of so fine a Climate as that  
 of *Gaul* and *Spain*, had brought a general Sick-  
 ness among the Troops.

III. POMPEY having had a whole Year to  
 compleat his Preparations, undisturbed by Wars,  
 and free from the Interruption of an Enemy ; had  
 collected a mighty Fleet from *Asia*, the *Cyclades*,  
*Corcyra*, *Athens*, *Pontus*, *Bitynia*, *Syria*, *Cilicia*,  
*Phœnicia*, and *Egypt* ; and had given Orders for the  
 building of Ships in all Parts. He had exacted  
 great Sums from the People of *Asia* and *Syria* ;  
 from



from the Kings, Tetrarchs, and Dynasties of those Parts; from the free States of *Achaia*; and from the Corporations of the Provinces subject to his Command. He had raised nine Legions of *Roman* Citizens: five he had brought with him from *Italy*; one had been sent him from *Sicily*, consisting wholly of Veterans, and called *Gemella*, because composed of two; another from *Crete* and *Macedonia*, of veteran Soldiers likewise, who having been disbanded by former Generals, had settled in those Parts; and two more from *Asia*, levied by the care of *Lentulus*. Besides all these, he had great Numbers from *Thes-saly*, *Bootia*, *Achaia*, and *Epirus*; whom, together with *Antony's* Soldiers, he distributed among the Legions by way of Recruits. He expected also two Legions that *Metellus Scipio* was to bring out of *Syria*. He had three thousand Archers drawn together from *Crete*, *Lacedemon*, *Pontus*, *Syria*, and other Provinces; six Cohorts of Slingers; and two of Mercenaries. His Cavalry amounted to seven thousand; six hundred of which came from *Galatia* under *Dejotarus*; five hundred from *Cappadocia* under *Ariobarzanes*; and the like Number had been sent him out of *Thrace* by *Cotus*, with his Son *Sadalis* at their head. Two hundred were from *Macedonia*, commanded by *Rasclipolis*, an Officer of great Distinction: five hundred from *Alexandria*, consisting of *Gauls* and *Germans*, left there by *A. Gabinius* to serve as a Guard to King *Ptolemy*; and now brought over by young *Pompey* in his Fleet, together with eight hundred of his own Domesticks. *Tarcundarius Castor* and *Donilaus* furnished three hundred *Gallograecians*; the first of these came himself in person, the latter sent his Son. Two hundred, most of them Archers, were sent from *Syria* by *Comagenus* of *Antioch*, who lay under the greatest Obligations to *Pompey*. There were likewise a great Number of

BOOK *Dardanians* and *Bessians*, partly Volunteers, partly  
 III. Mercenaries; with others from *Macedonia*, *Thessaly*,  
 and the adjoining States and Provinces, who altogether made up the Number mentioned above. To subsist this mighty Army, he had taken care to amass vast Quantities of Corn from *Thessaly*, *Asia*, *Egypt*, *Crete*, *Cyrene*, and other Countries; resolving to quarter his Troops during the Winter at *Dyrrhachium*, *Apollonia*, and the other maritime Towns, to prevent *Cæsar's* passing the Sea; for which purpose he ordered his Fleet to cruise perpetually about the Coasts. Young *Pompey* commanded the *Egyptian* Squadron; *D. Lælius* and *C. Triarius* the *Asiatic*; *C. Cassius* the *Syrian*; *C. Marcellus* and *C. Coponius* the *Rhodian*; *Scribonius Libo* and *M. Octavius* the *Liburnian* and *Achaian*: but the chief Authority was vested in *M. Bibulus*, who was Admiral of the whole, and gave his Orders accordingly.

IV. CÆSAR, upon his Arrival at *Brundisium*, harangued his Troops, and told them, " That as  
 " they were now upon the point of seeing an end  
 " of all their Toils and Dangers, they ought not  
 " to scruple at leaving their Servants and Baggage  
 " behind them in *Italy*, that they might embark  
 " with less Confusion, and in greater Numbers;  
 " putting all their Hopes in Victory, and the Generosity of their General." The whole Army testified their Approbation of what was proposed, and called out that they were ready to submit to his Orders. Accordingly, having put seven Legions on board, as we have before observed, he set sail the fourth of *January*, and arrived next Day at the *Ceraunian* Mountains: where having found among the Rocks and Shelves, with which that Coast abounds, a tolerable Road; and not daring to go to any Port, as he apprehended they were all  
 in

in the Enemy's Possession; he landed his Troops at a Place called *Pharsalus*, whither he brought his Fleet without the Loss of a single Ship. BOOK III.

V. *LUCRETIVS VESPILLO* and *Minucius Rufus* were at *Oricum*, with eighteen *Asiatic* Ships; and *Bibulus* had an hundred and ten at *Corcyra*. But the first durst not hazard an Engagement, though *Cæsar* was escorted by no more than twelve Gallies, only four of which had Decks: and *Bibulus* had not time to re-assemble his Sailors and Soldiers, who were dispersed in full Security: for no news of *Cæsar's* Approach had reached those Parts, till his Fleet was seen from the Continent.

VI. *CÆSAR* having landed his Troops, sent the Fleet back the same Night to *Brundisium*, to bring over his other Legions and Cavalry. *Fufius Kalenus*, Lieutenant-General, had the Charge of this Expedition, with Orders to use the utmost Dispatch. But setting sail too late, he lost the benefit of the Wind, which offered fair all Night, and fell in with the Enemy. For *Bibulus* hearing at *Corcyra* of *Cæsar's* Arrival, forthwith put to Sea, in hopes of intercepting some of the Transports; and meeting the Fleet as it returned empty, took about thirty Ships, which he immediately burnt, with all that were on board; partly to satisfy his own Vengeance for the disappointment he had received; partly to deter the rest of the Troops from attempting the Passage. He then stationed his Fleet along the Coast from *Salona* to *Oricum*, guarded all Places with extraordinary care, and even lay himself aboard, notwithstanding the rigour of the Winter; declining no Danger nor Fatigue, and solely intent upon intercepting *Cæsar's* Supplies.

VII. Af-



BOOK VII. AFTER the departure of the *Liburnian*  
 III. Gallies, *M. Octavius*, with the Squadron under his  
 Command, sailed from *Illyricum*, and came before  
*Salona*. Having spirited up the *Dalmatians*, and  
 other barbarous Nations in those Parts, he drew  
*Issa* to revolt from *Cæsar*. But finding that the  
 Council of *Salona* was neither to be moved by Pro-  
 mises nor Threats, he resolved to invest the Town.  
*Salona* is built upon a Hill, and advantageously si-  
 tuated for Defence : but as the Fortifications were  
 very inconsiderable, the *Roman* Citizens residing  
 there, immediately surrounded the Place with  
 wooden Towers; and finding themselves too few to  
 resist the Attacks of the Enemy, who soon over-  
 whelmed them with Wounds, betook themselves to  
 their last Refuge, by granting Liberty to all Slaves  
 capable of bearing Arms, and cutting off the  
 Womens Hair to make Cords for their Engines.  
*Octavius* perceiving their Obstinacy, formed five  
 different Camps round the Town, that they might  
 at once suffer all the Inconveniencies of a Siege,  
 and be exposed to frequent Attacks. The *Salonians*,  
 determined to endure every thing, found themselves  
 most pressed for want of Corn; and therefore sent  
 Deputies to *Cæsar* to solicit a Supply, patiently sub-  
 mitting to all the other Hardships they laboured un-  
 der. When the Siege had now continued a consi-  
 derable time, and the *Octavians* began to be off their  
 Guard: the *Salonians* finding the Opportunity fa-  
 vourable, about noon, when the Enemy were dis-  
 persed, disposed their Wives and Children upon the  
 Walls, that every thing might have its wonted Ap-  
 pearance; and sallying in a Body with their enfran-  
 chised Slaves, attacked the nearest Quarters of  
*Octavius*. Having soon forced these, they advanc-  
 ed to the next; thence to a third, a fourth, and so



on through the rest ; till having driven the Enemy from every Post, and made great Slaughter of their Men, they at length compelled them, and *Octavius* their Leader, to betake themselves to their Ships. Such was the issue of the Siege. As Winter now approached, and the loss had been very considerable; *Octavius*, despairing to reduce the Place, retired to *Dyrrhachium*, and joined *Pompey*. BOOK III.

VIII. WE have seen that *L. Vibullius Rufus*, *Pompey's* chief Engineer, had fallen twice into *Cæsar's* hands, and been as often set at liberty ; the first time at *Corfinium*, the next in *Spain*. Having been therefore twice indebted to him for his Life, and being also much in *Pompey's* Esteem, *Cæsar* thought him a proper Person to negotiate between them. His Instructions were ; “ That it was now  
 “ time for both to desist from their Obstinacy, and  
 “ lay down their Arms, without exposing themselves any more to the precarious Events of Fortune. That the Losses they had already sustained ought to serve as Lessons and Cautions, and  
 “ fill them with just Apprehensions with regard to  
 “ the future. That *Pompey* had been forced to  
 “ abandon *Italy*, had lost *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, the  
 “ two *Spains*, with about an hundred and thirty  
 “ Cohorts of *Roman* Citizens, who had perished in  
 “ these Countries. That himself too had been a  
 “ considerable Sufferer by the Death of *Curio*, the  
 “ Destruction of the *African* Army, and the Surrender of his Forces at *Corcyra*. That it was  
 “ therefore incumbent on them to shew some  
 “ regard to the sinking State of the Commonwealth, having sufficiently experienced by their  
 “ own Misfortunes, how prevalent Fortune was in  
 “ War. That the present Moment was the most  
 “ favourable in this respect ; because, not having  
 “ yet

BOOK III. " yet tried one another's Strength, and considering  
 " them as Equals, there would be more likelihood  
 " of agreeing on terms : whereas, if one of them  
 " once got the superiority, he would exact every  
 " thing from the other, and give up nothing.  
 " That as hitherto they had been unable to settle  
 " the Conditions of Peace, they ought to refer  
 " them to the Decision of the Senate and People of  
 " Rome ; and in the mean time, to obtain a free  
 " and unbiaſſed Judgment, both ſwear to diſband  
 " their Armies in three Days time. That when  
 " they were once diveſted of their national and  
 " auxiliary Forces, in which their whole Confi-  
 " dence lay, they would find themſelves under a  
 " neceſſity of ſubmitting to the Decree of the Se-  
 " nate and People. In fine, that to give *Pompey* a  
 " proof of his readineſs to perform theſe Propo-  
 " ſals, he would give immediate Orders for the  
 " Diſcharge of all his Forces, both in Garrifon  
 " and in the Field."

IX. VIBULLIUS having received theſe Inſtruc-  
 tions, thought it neceſſary to give *Pompey* ſpeedy  
 notice of *Cæſar*'s Arrival, that he might be provid-  
 ed againſt that event, before he laid open the Com-  
 miſſion he was charged with. Accordingly jour-  
 neying Day and Night, and frequently changing  
 Horſes for the greater Expedition, he at length got  
 to *Pompey*, and informed him that *Cæſar* was ap-  
 proaching with all his Forces. *Pompey* was at that  
 time in *Candavia*, from whence he was marching  
 through *Macedonia*, to his Winter-quarters at  
*Apollonia* and *Dyrrhachium*. Concerned at this un-  
 expected News, he haſtened his March to *Apollonia*,  
 to prevent *Cæſar*'s making himſelf maſter of the  
 Sea-coaſts. Mean-while *Cæſar* having landed his  
 Forces, marched the ſame Day to *Oricum*. Upon  
 his

his Arrival there, *L. Torquatus*, who commanded in the Town for *Pompey*, with a Garrison of *Parthinians*, ordered the Gates to be shut, and the *Greeks* to repair to their Arms, and man the Walls. But they refusing to fight against the Authority of the People of *Rome*; and the Inhabitants, of their own accord, endeavouring to admit *Cæsar*; *Torquatus*, despairing of Relief, opened the Gates, and surrendered both himself and the Town to *Cæsar*, who readily granted him his Life.

X. *CÆSAR* having made himself master of *Oricum*, marched directly to *Apollonia*. Upon the report of his arrival, *L. Staberius*, who commanded in the Place, ordered Water to be carried into the Castle, fortified it with great care, and demanded Hostages of the Townsmen. They refused to comply; declaring they would not shut their Gates against the Consul of the *Roman* People, nor presume to act in contradiction to the Judgment of the Senate, and of all *Italy*. *Staberius* finding it in vain to resist, privately left the Place; upon which the *Apollonians* sent Deputies to *Cæsar*, and received him into the Town. The *Bullidenses*, *Amantiani*, with the rest of the neighbouring Countries, and all *Epirus*, followed their Example; acquainting *Cæsar* by their Ambassadors, that they were ready to execute his Commands.

XI. MEAN-WHILE *Pompey*, having notice of what passed at *Oricum* and *Apollonia*, and being apprehensive for *Dyrrbachium*, marched Day and Night to reach the Place. At the same time it was reported that *Cæsar* was not far off; which meeting with the more credit, because of their hasty March, put the whole Army into such Consternation, that many abandoning their Colours in *Epirus* and the  
neigh-

BOOK III. neighbouring States, and others throwing down their Arms, every thing had the appearance of a precipitate Flight. But upon *Pompey's* halting near *Dyrrbachium*, and ordering a Camp to be formed; as the Army had not even then recovered its Fright, *Labienus* advanced before the rest, and swore never to abandon his General, but to share in whatever Lot Fortune should assign him. The other Lieutenants did the same, as likewise the military Tribunes and Centurions, whose Example was followed by the whole Army. *Cæsar* finding that he was prevented in his Design upon *Dyrrbachium*, pursued his March more leisurely, and encamped on the River *Apfus*, in the Territories of the *Apollonians*, that he might protect the Possessions of a State which had so warmly declared in his favour. Here he resolved to pass the Winter in Tents, and wait the arrival of the rest of his Legions out of *Italy*. *Pompey* did the like, and having encamped on the other side of the *Apfus*, assembled there all his Legions and Auxiliaries.

XII. *Kalenus* having embarked the Legions and Cavalry at *Brundisium*, according to the Instructions he had received, put to Sea with his whole Fleet; but had not sailed very far, 'till he was met by Letters from *Cæsar*, informing him, that all the *Grecian* Coasts were guarded by the Enemy's Fleet. Upon this he recalled his Ships, and returned again into the Harbour. Only one continued its Rout, which carried no Soldiers, nor was subject to the Orders of *Kalenus*, but belonged to a private Commander. This Vessel arriving before *Oricum*, fell into the hands of *Bibulus*, who not sparing the very Children, put all on board to death, both Freemen and Slaves. So much did the safety of the whole Army depend upon a single Moment.

XIII. Br-



XIII. BIBULUS, as we have related above, lay at *Oricum* with his Fleet; and as he deprived *Cæsar* of all Supplies by Sea, so was he in like manner greatly incommoded by *Cæsar* at land: who having disposed Parties along the Coast, hindered him from getting Water or Wood, or coming near the Shore. This was attended with many Inconveniencies, and threw him into great Straits; insomuch that he was obliged to fetch all his other Necessaries, as well as Wood and Water, from the Island of *Corcyra*: and once, when foul Weather prevented his receiving Refreshments from thence, the Soldiers were necessitated, for want of Water, to collect the Dew which in the Night fell on the Hides that covered their Ships. Yet he bore all these Difficulties with surprizing Firmness, and continued resolute in his Design of not unguarding the Coast. But at last, being reduced to the above-mentioned Extremity, and *Libo* having joined him, they called from on board to *M. Acilius* and *Staius Murcus*, two of *Cæsar's* Lieutenants, one of whom guarded the Walls of *Oricum*, and the other the Sea-Coasts; that they wanted to confer with *Cæsar*, about Affairs of the greatest Consequence, if they could but have an Opportunity. To gain the more credit, they let fall some Expressions that seemed to promise Accommodation; and in the mean-while demanded and obtained a Truce: for *Murcus* and *Acilius* believing their Proposals to be serious, knew how extremely grateful they would be to *Cæsar*, and doubted not but *Vibullius* had succeeded in his Negotiation.

XIV. CÆSAR was then at *Buthrotum*, a Town over-against *Corcyra*, whither he was gone with one Legion, to reduce some of the more distant States, and

BOOK and supply himself with Corn, which then began  
 III. to be scarce. Here receiving Letters from *Acilius*  
 and *Murcus*, with an account of *Libo* and *Bibulus's*  
 Demands, he left the Legion, and returned to *Ori-*  
*cum*. Upon his arrival, he invited them to a Con-  
 ference. *Libo* appeared, and made an Apology  
 for *Bibulus*: "That being naturally hasty, and  
 " bearing a personal Grudge to *Cæsar*, contracted  
 " during the time of his *Ædileship* and *Quæstor-*  
 " ship, he had for that Reason declined the Inter-  
 " view; to prevent any Obstructions from his pre-  
 " sence to the success of so desirable and disadvan-  
 " tageous a Design: That *Pompey* was, and ever  
 " had been inclined to lay down his Arms, and  
 " terminate their Differences by an Accommoda-  
 " tion: but as yet had not sent him sufficient Pow-  
 " ers to treat, which however he doubted not soon  
 " to receive, as the Council had intrusted him  
 " with the whole Administration of the War:  
 " That if he would therefore make known his De-  
 " mands, they would send them to *Pompey*, who  
 " would soon come to a Resolution upon their Re-  
 " presentations. In the mean time the Truce  
 " might continue, and both Parties abstain from  
 " acts of Hostility, 'till an Answer could be ob-  
 " tained." He added something about the Justice  
 of their Cause, and their Forces both natural and  
 auxiliary; to which *Cæsar* neither at that time re-  
 turned any Answer, nor do we now think it of im-  
 portance enough to be transmitted to Posterity.  
*Cæsar's* Demands were: "That he might have  
 " leave to send Ambassadors to *Pompey*; and that  
 " they would either stipulate for their return, or  
 " undertake themselves to convey them in safety:  
 " That with regard to the Truce; such were the  
 " present Circumstances of the War, that their  
 " Fleet kept back his Supplies and Transports,  
 " and

“ and his Forces deprived them of Water and access to the Shore. If they expected any abatement on his side, they must likewise abate in guarding the Coast; but if they still persisted in their former Vigilance, neither would he yield in what depended on him: That notwithstanding, the Accommodation might go forward, without any Obstruction from this mutual Denial.” *Libo* declined receiving *Cæsar*’s Ambassadors, or undertaking for their safe Return, and chose to refer the whole matter to *Pompey*; yet insisted on the Truce. *Cæsar* perceiving, that the only Aim of the Enemy was, to extricate themselves out of their present Straits and Danger; and that it was in vain to entertain any hopes of Peace; turned all his thoughts to the vigorous Prosecution of the War.

XV. *BIBULUS* having kept at Sea for many Days, and contracted a dangerous Illness by the Cold and perpetual Fatigue; as he could neither have proper Assistance on board, nor would be prevailed upon to quit his Post; he at last sunk under the weight of his Distemper. After his Death, nobody succeeded in the Command of the whole Fleet; but each Squadron was governed, independently of the rest, by its particular Commander.

XVI. WHEN the Surprise occasioned by *Cæsar*’s sudden Arrival was over; *Vibullius*, in presence of *Libo*, *L. Lucceius*, and *Theophanes*, who were among *Pompey*’s most intimate Counsellors, resolved to deliver the Commission he had received from *Cæsar*. But scarce had he begun to speak, when *Pompey* interrupted him, and ordered him to proceed no farther. “ What, says he, is my Life or Country to me, if I shall seem to be beholden to *Cæsar* for  
VOL. II. C “ them?



BOOK " them ? And will it be believed that I am not in-  
 III. " debted to him for them, if he, by an Accom-  
 " modation, restores me to *Italy* ?" *Cæsar* was in-  
 formed of this Speech, after the Conclusion of the  
 War, by those who were present when it was deli-  
 vered : he still continued however, by other Me-  
 thods, to try to bring about an Accommodation.

XVII. As the two Camps were only separated by the River *Apfus*, the Soldiers had frequent Dis-  
 course among themselves ; and it was settled by  
 mutual Consent, that no act of Hostility should  
 pass during the Conferences. *Cæsar* taking advan-  
 tage of this Opportunity, sent *P. Vatinius*, one of  
 his Lieutenants, to forward to the utmost an Ac-  
 commodation ; and to demand frequently with a  
 loud Voice, " Whether it might not be permitted  
 " to Citizens, to send Deputies to their Fellow-  
 " Citizens about Peace : That this had never been  
 " denied even to Fugitives and Robbers, and could  
 " much less be opposed, when the only design was,  
 " to prevent the Effusion of civil Blood." This  
 and much more he said, with a submissive Air, as  
 became one employed to treat for his own and the  
 common Safety. He was heard with great Silence  
 by both Parties, and received this Answer from the  
 Enemy. " That *A. Varro* had declared he would  
 " next day appear at an Interview, whither the  
 " Deputies of both Parties might come in perfect  
 " Security, and mutually make known their De-  
 " mands." The Hour of meeting was likewise  
 settled ; which being come, Multitudes on both  
 sides flocked to the Place, the greatest Expectations  
 were formed, and the Minds of all seemed intent  
 upon Peace. *T. Labienus*, advancing from the  
 Croud, began in a low Voice to confer with *Vati-*  
*nius*, as if to settle the Articles of the Treaty. But  
 their

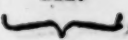


their Discourse was soon interrupted by a multitude of Darts that came pouring in on all sides. *Vatinius* escaped the Danger by means of the Soldiers, who protected him with their Shields; but *Cornelius Balbus*, *M. Plotius*, *L. Tiburtus*, Centurions, and some private Men were wounded. *Labienus* then lifted up his Voice, and cried: "Leave off prating of an Accommodation: for you must not expect Peace, 'till you bring us *Cæsar's* Head."

XVIII. ABOUT the same time *M. Cælius Rufus*, Prætor at *Rome* for foreign Affairs, having undertaken the cause of the Debtors; on his entrance into his Office, ordered his Tribunal to be fixed near that of the City Prætor *C. Trebonius*; and promised to receive the Complaints of such as should appeal to him, in regard to the Estimation and Payments, made in consequence of *Cæsar's* late Regulation. But such was the Equity of the Decree, and the Humanity of *Trebonius*, who in so nice and critical an Affair, thought it necessary to conduct himself with the utmost Clemency and Moderation, that no pretence of Appeal could be found. For to plead Poverty, personal Losses, the hardness of the Times, and the difficulty of bringing their Effects to sale, is usual enough even with reasonable Minds: but to own themselves indebted, and yet aim at keeping their Possessions entire, would have argued a total want both of Honesty and Shame. Accordingly not a Man was found who made any such Demand. *Cælius's* whole Severity, therefore, was pointed against those, to whom the Inheritance of the Debtor was adjudged: and having once embarked in the Affair, that he might not seem to have engaged himself to no purpose in an unjustifiable Cause, he published a Law, by which he al-

BOOK III. lowed the Debtors six Years for the discharge of their Debts, which they were to clear at equal Payments, without Interest.

XIX. BUT the Consul *Servilius*, and the rest of the Magistrates opposing the Law; when he found it had not the effect he expected, he thought proper to drop that Design; and in the view of inflaming the People, proposed two new Laws; the one, to exempt all the Tenants in *Rome* from paying Rents; the other, for a general Abolition of Debts. This Bait took with the Multitude; and *Cælius* at their head, came and attacked *Trebonius* on his Tribunal, drove him thence, and wounded some about him. The Consul *Servilius* reported these things to the Senate, who interdicted to *Cælius* the Functions of his Office. In consequence of this Decree, the Consul refused him admittance into the Senate, and drove him out of his Tribunal, when he was going to harangue the People. Overwhelmed with Shame and Repentment, he openly threatened to carry his Complaints to *Cæsar*; but privately gave notice to *Milo*, who had been banished for the Murder of *Clodius*, to come into *Italy*, and join him with the remains of the Gladiators, which he bought formerly to entertain the People with, in the Shows he gave them. With this view he sent him before to *Turinum*, to solicit the Shepherds to take Arms, and went himself to *Casilinum*; where hearing that his Arms and Ensigns had been seized at *Capua*, his Partizans at *Naples*, and their design of betraying the City discovered: finding all his Projects defeated, the Gates of *Capua* shut against him, and the Danger increasing every Moment, because the Citizens had taken Arms, and began to consider him as a publick Enemy; he desisted from the Project  
he

he had formed, and thought proper to change his BOOK  
III.  
Rout. 

XX. IN the mean time *Milo*, having dispatched Letters to all the Colonies and free Towns, intimating that what he did was in virtue of *Pompey's* Authority, who had sent him his Orders by *Bibulus*, endeavoured to draw over the Debtors to his Party. But not succeeding in his Design, he contented himself with setting some Slaves at liberty, and with them marched to besiege *Cosa*, in the Territory of *Turinum*. *Q. Pædus* the Prætor, with a Garrison of one Legion, commanded in the Town; and here *Milo* was slain by a Stone from a Machine on the Walls. *Cælius* giving out that he was gone to *Cæsar*, came to *Thurium*; where endeavouring to debauch the Inhabitants, and corrupt by promises of Money the *Spanish* and *Gaulish* Horse, whom *Cæsar* had sent thither to garrison the Place, they slew him. Thus these dangerous Beginnings, that by reason of the multiplicity of Affairs where-with the Magistrates were distracted, and the ticklish situation of the Times, threatned great Revolutions, and alarmed all *Italy*, were brought to a safe and speedy issue.

XXI. *LIBO* leaving *Oricum*, with the Fleet under his Command, consisting of fifty Sail, came to *Brundisium*, and possessed himself of an Island directly facing the Harbour; judging it of more consequence to secure a Post, by which our Transports must necessarily pass, than guard all the Coasts and Havens on the other side. As his Arrival was unexpected, he surprised and burnt some Transports, and carried off a Vessel laden with Corn. The Consternation was great among our Men; inso-much that having landed some Foot, with a Party

BOOK of Archers, in the Night, he defeated our Guard  
 III. of Cavalry; and had so far the Advantage by the  
 Commodiousness of his Post, that he writ *Pompey*  
 word, he might draw the rest of the Navy on Shore,  
 and order them to be careen'd; for he alone, with  
 his Squadron, would undertake to cut off *Cæsar's*  
 Supplies.

XXII. ANTONY was then at *Brundisium*; who  
 confiding in the Valour of the Troops, ordered  
 some Boats belonging to the Fleet to be armed with  
 Hurdles and Galleries; and having filled them  
 with chosen Troops, disposed them in several Places  
 along the Shore. At the same time he sent two  
 three-bench'd Gallies, which he had caused to be  
 built at *Brundisium*, to the mouth of the Harbour,  
 as if with design to exercise the Rowers. *Libo* per-  
 ceiving them advance boldly, and hoping he might  
 be able to intercept them, detached five Quadri-  
 remes for that Purpose. At their Approach, our  
 Men rowed towards the Harbour; whither the  
 Enemy, eager of the Pursuit, inconsiderately fol-  
 lowed them: for now *Antony's* armed Boats, upon  
 a Signal given, came pouring upon them from all  
 Parts; and on the very first Onset took a Qua-  
 dreme, with all the Soldiers and Sailors on board,  
 and forced the rest to an ignominious Flight. To  
 add to this Disgrace, the Cavalry, which *Antony*  
 had posted all along the Coast, hindered the Enemy  
 from watering; which reduced them to such Straits,  
 that *Libo* was forced to quit the Blockade of *Brun-*  
*dusium*, and retire with his Fleet.

XXIII. SEVERAL Months had now passed, the  
 Winter was almost over; mean-time neither the  
 Ships nor Legions were yet arrived, which *Cæsar*  
 expected from *Brundisium*. He could not help  
 think-



thinking that some Opportunities had been lost, as it was certain the Wind had many times offered fair, and there was a necessity of trusting to it at last. The longer the Delay in sending over the Troops, the more vigilant and alert were the Enemy in guarding the Coast, and the greater their Confidence to hinder the Passage; nay *Pompey*, in his Letters, frequently reproached them, that as they had not prevented the first Embarkation, they ought at least to take care that no more of the Troops got over; and the Season itself was becoming less favourable, by the Approach of milder Weather, when the Enemy's Fleet would be able to act and extend itself. For these Reasons *Cæsar* writ sharply to his Lieutenants at *Brundisium*, charging them not to omit the first Opportunity of sailing, as soon as the Wind offered fair; and to steer for the Coast of *Apollonia*, which they could approach with less danger, as it was not so strictly guarded by the Enemy, who were afraid of venturing on a Coast so ill provided with Havens.

XXIV. THE Lieutenants roused and emboldened by these Letters, and encouraged by the Exhortations of the Troops themselves, who professed they were ready to face any Danger for *Cæsar's* sake, embarked under the Direction of *M. Antony*, and *Fufius Kalenus*; and setting sail with the Wind at South, passed *Apollonia* and *Dyrrhachium* next Day. Being descried from the Continent, *C. Cæponius*, who commanded the *Rhodian* Squadron at *Dyrrhachium*, put out to Sea; and the Wind slackening upon our Fleet, it was near falling into the hands of the Enemy; but a fresh Gale springing up at South, saved us from that Danger. *Cæponius* however desisted not from the Pursuit, hoping by the Labour and Perseverance of the Mariners, to surmount

BOOK III. the Violence of the Tempest; and though we had passed *Dyrrhachium* with a very hard Gale, still continued to follow us. Our Men apprehensive of an Attack, should the Wind again chance to slacken, seized an Advantage Fortune threw in their way, and put into the Port of *Nymphæum*, about three Miles beyond *Lissus*. This Port is sheltered from the South-west Wind, but lies open to the South: but they preferred the Hazard they might be exposed to by the Tempest, to that of fighting. At that Instant, by an unusual Piece of good Fortune, the Wind, which for two Days had blown from the South, changed to the South-west. This was a sudden and favourable turn: for the Fleet so lately in Danger from the Enemy, was sheltered in a safe commodious Port: and that which threatened ours with Destruction, was in its turn exposed to the utmost Peril. By this unexpected Change, the Storm, which protected our Fleet, beat so furiously on the *Rhodian* Gallies, that they were all, to the Number of sixteen, broke to pieces against the Shore. Most of the Soldiers and Mariners perished among the Rocks; the rest were taken up by our Men, and sent by *Cæsar's* Orders to their several Homes.

XXV. Two of our Transports, unable to keep up with the rest, were overtaken by the Night; and not knowing where the Fleet had put in, cast Anchor over-against *Lissus*. *Otacilius Crassus*, who commanded in the Place, sent out some Boats and small Vessels to attack them: at the same time he urged them to a surrender, promising Quarter to such as would submit. One of these Vessels carried two hundred and twenty new raised Soldiers; the other less than two hundred Veterans. On this Occasion appeared, how great a defence against Danger

Danger results from Firmness of Mind. The new BOOK  
 Levies, frightened at the Number of their Adversaries, and fatigued with Sea-sickness, surrendered on promise of their Lives. But when they were brought to *Otacilius*, regardless of the Oath he had taken, he ordered them all to be cruelly slain in his presence. The Veterans, on the contrary, though they had both the Storm and a leaky Vessel to struggle with, abated nothing of their wonted Bravery; but having spun out the time till Night, under pretence of treating, obliged the Pilot to run the Vessel ashore; where finding an advantageous Post, they continued the remainder of the Night. At day-break *Otacilius* detached against them about four hundred Horse, who guarded that Part of the Coast, and pursued them Sword in hand: but they defended themselves with great Bravery, and having slain some of the Enemy, rejoined, without loss, the rest of the Troops. III.

XXVI. UPON this the *Roman* Citizens inhabiting *Lissus*, to whom *Cæsar* had before made a Grant of the Town, after fortifying it with great care, opened their Gates to *Antony*, and furnished him with every thing he stood in need of. *Otacilius*, dreading the Consequences of this Revolution, quitted the Place, and fled to *Pompey*. *Antony* having landed his Troops, which consisted of three veteran Legions, one new raised, and eight hundred Horse, sent most of the Transports back again to *Brundisium*, to bring over the rest of the Foot and Cavalry; retaining nevertheless some Ships of *Gaulish* Structure, that if *Pompey*, imagining *Italy* destitute of Troops, should attempt to return thither, as was commonly rumoured, *Cæsar* might be able to follow him. At the same time he gave *Cæsar* speedy Notice of the Number

BOOK Number of Forces he had brought over with him,  
 III. and the Place where he had landed.

XXVII. THIS Intelligence reached *Cæsar* and *Pompey* much about the same time; for both had seen the Fleet pass *Apollonia* and *Dyrrhachium*, and had in consequence directed their March that way; but neither knew, for some Days, into what Harbour it had put. On the first News of *Antony's* landing, the two Generals took different Resolutions; *Cæsar*, to join him as soon as possible; *Pompey*, to oppose his March, and, if possible, draw him into an Ambuscade. Both quitted their Camps on the *Apfus* about the same time; *Pompey*, privately during the Night; *Cæsar*, publickly by Day. But *Cæsar*, who had the River to cross, was obliged to fetch a Compass, that he might come at a Ford. *Pompey*, on the other hand, having nothing to obstruct his March, advanced by great Journeys against *Antony*; and understanding that he was not far off, posted his Troops on an advantageous Ground, ordering them to keep within their Camp, and light no Fires, that his Approach might not be perceived. But *Antony* being informed of it by the *Greeks*, would not stir out of his Lines; and sending immediate Notice to *Cæsar*, was joined by him next Day. On Advice of *Cæsar's* Arrival, *Pompey*, that he might not be shut up between two Armies, quitted the Place; and coming with all his Forces to *Asparagium*, a Town belonging to the *Dyrrhachians*, encamped there on an advantageous Ground.

XXVIII. ABOUT the same time *Scipio*, notwithstanding some Checks he had received near Mount *Amanus*, assumed the Title of Emperor; after which he exacted great Sums of Money from the neighbouring States and Princes; obliged the  
 Farmers



Farmers of the Revenue to pay the two Years' BOOK  
Taxes, which lay in their Hands, and advance a III.  
third by Way of Loan; and sent Orders to the  
whole Province for levying Cavalry. Having got  
a sufficient Number together, he quitted the *Par-*  
*thians*, his nearest Enemies, who not long before  
had slain *M. Crassus*, and held *Bibulus* invested; and  
marched out of *Syria* with his Legions and Cavalry.  
When he arrived in *Asia Minor*, he found the whole  
Country filled with Terror on account of the *Par-*  
*thian* War; and the Soldiers themselves declared,  
that they were ready to march against an Enemy,  
but would never bear Arms against a Consul, and  
their Fellow-citizens. To stifle these Discontents,  
he made considerable Presents to the Troops, quar-  
tered them in *Pergamus* and other rich Towns, and  
gave up the whole Country to their Discretion.  
Mean-while the Money demanded of the Province  
was levied with great Rigor; and various Pretences  
were devised, to serve as a Ground to new Exactions.  
Slaves and Freemen were subjected to a Capitation-  
Tax. Imposts were laid upon Pillars and Doors of  
Houses. Corn, Soldiers, Mariners, Arms, En-  
gines, Carriages, in a word, every thing that  
had a Name, furnished a sufficient Handle for ex-  
torting Money. Governors were appointed not  
only over Towns, but over Villages and Castles;  
and he that acted with the greatest Rigor and Cru-  
elty, was accounted the worthiest Man, and best  
Citizen. The Province swarmed with Lictors,  
Overseers, and Collectors, who besides the Sums  
imposed by publick Authority, exacted Money  
likewise on their own Account; colouring their  
iniquitous Demands with a Pretence, that they had  
been expelled their Country and native Homes,  
and were in extreme want of every thing. Add to  
all these Calamities, immoderate Usury, an Evil  
almost

BOOK almost inseparable from War: for as great Sums

III. are then exacted, beyond what a Country is able to furnish, they are obliged to apply for a Delay, which at any Price is still accounted a Favour. Thus the Debts of the Province increased considerably during these two Years. Nor were the *Roman* Citizens the only Sufferers on this Occasion; for certain Sums were demanded of every State and Corporation, as a Loan upon the Senate's Decree; and the Farmers of the Revenue were ordered to advance the next Year's Tribute, in like manner as when they first enter'd upon Office. Besides all this, *Scipio* gave Orders for seizing the Treasures of the Temple of *Diana* at *Ephesus*, with all the Statues of that Goddess. But when he came to the Temple attended by many Persons of senatorian Rank, he received Letters from *Pompey*, desiring him to lay aside all other Concerns, and make what Haste he could to join him, because *Cæsar* had passed into *Greece* with his whole Army. In consequence of this Order, he sent back the Senators who had been summoned to attend him at *Ephesus*, made Preparations for passing into *Macedonia*, and began his March a few Days after. Thus the *Ephesian* Treasures escaped being plundered.

XXIX. CÆSAR having joined *Antony's* Army, and recalled the Legion he had left at *Oricum*, to guard the Sea-coast, judged it necessary to advance farther into the Country, and possess himself of the more distant Provinces. At the same time Deputies arrived from *Thessaly* and *Ætolia*, with Assurances of Submission from all the States in those Parts, provided he would send Troops to defend them. Accordingly he dispatched *L. Cassius Longinus*, with a Legion of new Levies, called the twenty-seventh, and two hundred Horse into *Thessaly*;

*saly*; and *C. Calvisius Sabinus*, with five Cohorts, and some Cavalry, into *Ætolia*; charging them in a particular Manner, as those Provinces lay the nearest to his Camp, that they would take care to furnish him with Corn. He likewise ordered *Cn. Domitius Calvinus*, with the eleventh and twelfth Legions, and five hundred Horse, to march into *Macedonia*: for *Menedemus*, the principal Man of that Country, having come Ambassador to *Cæsar*, had assured him of the Affection of the Province.

XXX. CALVISIUS was well received by the *Ætolians*; and having driven the Enemies Garrisons from *Calydon* and *Naupactum*, possessed himself of the whole Country. *Cassius* arriving in *Thessaly* with his Legion, found the State divided into two Factions. *Egesaretus*, a Man in Years, and of established Credit, favoured *Pompey*: *Petreius*, a young Nobleman of the first Rank, exerted his whole Interest in behalf of *Cæsar*.

XXXI. ABOUT the same time *Domitius* arrived in *Macedonia*: and whilst Deputies were attending him from all Parts, News came that *Scipio* approached with his Legions, which spread a great Alarm through the Country; as Fame, for the most part, magnifies the first Appearances of Things. *Scipio*, without stopping any where in *Macedonia*, advanced by great Marches towards *Domitius*; but being come within twenty Miles of him, suddenly changed his Rout, and turned off to *Thessaly*, in quest of *Cassius Longinus*. This was done so expeditiously, that he was actually arrived with his Troops, when *Cassius* received the first Notice of his March: for to make the more Dispatch, he had left *M. Favonius* at the River *Haliacmon*, which separates *Macedonia* from *Thessaly*, with eight Cohorts to guard the Baggage

of

BOOK III. of the Legions, and ordered him to erect a Fort there. At the same time King *Cotus's* Cavalry, which had been accustomed to make Inroads into *Thessaly*, came pouring upon *Cassius's* Camp; who knowing that *Scipio* was upon his March, and believing the Cavalry to be his, retired in a Fright to the Mountains that begirt *Thessaly*, and thence directed his Course towards *Ambracia*. *Scipio* preparing to follow him, received Letters from *M. Favonius*; that *Domitius* was coming up with his Legions, nor would it be possible for him to maintain the Post he was in, without his Assistance. *Scipio*, upon this Intelligence, changed his Resolution, gave over the Pursuit of *Cassius*, and advanced to the Relief of *Favonius*. As he marched Day and Night without intermission, he arrived so opportunely, that the Dust of *Domitius's* Army, and his advanced Parties, were descried at the same time. Thus *Domitius's* Care preserved *Cassius*, and *Scipio's* Diligence *Favonius*.

XXXII. *Scipio* continuing two Days in his Camp upon the *Haliacmon*, which ran between him and the Army of *Domitius*, put his Troops in motion on the third, and by Day-break forded the River. Early next Morning he drew up his Troops in order of Battle at the head of his Camp. *Domitius* was not averse to an Engagement; but as between the two Camps there was a Plain of six Miles, he thought that the fittest place for a Field of Battle, and drew up his Men at some distance from *Scipio's* Camp. *Scipio* would not stir from his Post; yet hardly could *Domitius* restrain his Men from advancing to attack him; tho' a Rivulet with steep Banks, that ran in the front of the Enemy's Camp, opposed their Passage. *Scipio* observing the Keeness and Alacrity of our Troops, and fearing that



that next Day he should either be forced to fight BOOK III.  
 against his Will, or ignominiously keep within his Camp; after great Expectations raised, by too hastily crossing the River, he saw all his Projects defeated; and decamping in great silence during the Night, returned to his former Station beyond the *Haliacmon*, and posted himself on a rising Ground, near the River. A few Days after, he formed an Ambuscade of Cavalry by Night, in a place where our Men were wont to forage: and when *Q. Varus*, who commanded the Horse under *Domitius*, came next Day according to custom; suddenly the Enemy rose from their lurking Holes: but our Men bravely sustaining the Attack, soon recovered their Ranks, and in their turn vigorously charged the Enemy. About fourscore fell on this Occasion; the rest betook themselves to flight, and our Men returned to their Camp with the loss of only two of their Number.

XXXIII. AFTER this Rencounter, *Domitius* hoping to draw *Scipio* to a Battle, feigned to decamp for want of Provisions; and having made the usual Signal for retreating, after a March of three Miles, drew up his Cavalry and Legions in a convenient Plain, shrouded from the Enemy's view. *Scipio* preparing to follow, sent the Horse and light-armed Infantry before, to explore his Rout, and examine the Situation of the Country. When they were advanced a little way, and their first Squadrons had come within reach of our Ambush; beginning to suspect something from the neighing of the Horses, they wheeled about in order to retreat; which the Troops that followed observing, suddenly halted. Our Men finding that the Ambush was discovered, and knowing it would be in vain to wait for the rest of the Army, fell upon the two Squa-

BOOK III. Squadrons that were most advanced. *M. Opimius*; General of the Horse to *Domitius*, was amongst these, but some how found means to escape. All the rest were either slain, or made Prisoners.

XXXIV. CÆSAR having drawn off his Garriſons from the Sea-coaſt, as we have related above; left three Cohorts at *Oricum* to defend the Town, and committed to their charge the Gallies he had brought out of *Italy*. *Acilius*, one of his Lieutenants, had the command of theſe Troops; who, for the greater Security, cauſed the Ships to be drawn up into the Harbour behind the Town, and made them faſt to the Shore. He likewiſe ſunk a Transport in the mouth of the Haven, behind which another rode at Anchor, on whoſe Deck a Tower was erected facing the Entrance of the Port, and filled with Troops, to be ready in caſe of ſurpriſe. Young *Pompey*, who commanded the *Ægyptian* Fleet, having notice of this, came to *Oricum*; weighed up the Veſſel that had been ſunk in the mouth of the Harbour; and after an obſtinate Reſiſtance, took the other, which had been placed there by *Acilius* to guard the Haven. He then brought forward his Fleet, on which he had raiſed Towers to fight with the greater advantage; and having ſurrounded the Town on all ſides, attacked it by Land with ſcaling Ladders, and by Sea from the Towers, ſending freſh Men continually in the place of thoſe that were fatigued, and thereby obliging us to yield thro' Wearineſs and Wounds. At the ſame time he ſeized an Eminence on the other ſide of the Town, which ſeemed a kind of natural Mole, and almoſt formed a Peninſula over-againſt *Oricum*; and by means of this neck of Land, carried four ſmall Gallies upon Rollers into the inner part of the Haven. Thus the Gallies,  
that

that were made fast to the Land, and destitute of BOOK  
Troops, being attacked on all sides; four were III.  
carried off, and the rest burnt. This Affair dispatched, he left *D. Lælius*, whom he had taken from the command of the *Asiatic Fleet*, to prevent the Importation of Provisions from *Biblis* and *Amantia*; and sailing for *Lissus*, attacked and burnt the thirty Transports which *Antony* had left in that Haven. He endeavoured likewise to take the Town: but the *Roman* Citizens of that District, aided by the Garrison *Cæsar* had left, defended it so well, that at the end of three Days, he retired without effecting his Purpose, having lost some Men in the Attempt.

XXXV. *CÆSAR* being informed that *Pompey* was at *Asparagium*, marched thither with his Army; and having taken the Capital of the *Parthini* by the way, where *Pompey* had a Garrison; arrived the third Day in *Macedonia*, and encamped at a small distance from the Enemy. The next Day he drew out all his Forces, formed them before his Camp, and offered *Pompey* battle. Finding that he kept within his Lines, he led back his Troops, and began to think of pursuing other Measures. Accordingly, on the morrow, by a long Circuit, and thro' very narrow and difficult Ways, he marched with all his Forces to *Dyrrbachium*; hoping either to oblige *Pompey* to follow him thither, or cut off his Communication with the Town, where he had laid up all his Provisions, and Magazines of War: which happened accordingly. For *Pompey*, at first, not penetrating his Design, because he counterfeited a Rout different from what he really intended, imagined he had been obliged to decamp for want of Provisions: but being afterwards informed of the truth by his Scouts, he quitted his Camp next



BOOK III. Day, in hopes to prevent him by taking a nearer Way. *Cæsar* suspecting what might happen, exhorted his Soldiers to bear the Fatigue patiently; and allowing them to repose during only a small part of the Night, arrived next Morning at *Dyr-rhachium*, where he immediately formed a Camp, just as *Pompey's* Van began to appear at a Distance.

XXXVI. POMPEY thus excluded from *Dyrrhachium*, and unable to execute his first Design, came to a resolution of encamping on an Eminence called *Petra*, where was a tolerable Harbour, sheltered from some Winds. Here he ordered part of his Fleet to attend him, and Corn and Provisions to be brought him from *Asia*, and the other Provinces subject to his Command. *Cæsar* apprehending the War would run into length, and despairing of Supplies from *Italy*, because the Coasts were so strictly guarded by *Pompey's* Fleet; and his own Gallies, built the Winter before in *Sicily*, *Gaul*, and *Italy*, were not yet arrived; dispatched *L. Canuleius*, one of his Lieutenants, to *Epirus* for Corn. And because that Country lay at a great distance from his Camp, he built Granaries in several Places, and wrote to the neighbouring States to carry their Corn thither. He likewise ordered search to be made for what Corn could be found in *Lissus*, the Country of the *Parthinians*, and the other Principalities in those Parts. This amounted to very little; partly occasioned by the Soil, which is rough and mountainous, and obliges the Inhabitants often to import Grain; partly because *Pompey* foreseeing *Cæsar's* Wants, had some Days before ravaged the Country of the *Parthinians*, plundered their Houses, and by means of his Cavalry carried off all their Corn.

XXXVII.



XXXVII. FOR these Reasons *Cæsar* formed a BOOK  
III.  
Project, which the very nature of the Country suggested. All round *Pompey's* Camp, at a small distance, were high and steep hills. *Cæsar* took possession of those Hills, and built Forts upon them; resolving, as the nature of the Ground would allow, to draw Lines of Communication from one Fort to another, and inclose *Pompey* within his Works. His views herein were; first, to facilitate the Passage of his Convoys, which the Enemy's Cavalry, which was very strong and fine, would no longer cut off; next, to distress this very Cavalry, for want of Forage; and lastly, to lessen the great Reputation and high Idea entertained of *Pompey*, when it should be reported all over the World, that he had suffered himself to be blockaded, and as it were imprisoned by *Cæsar's* Works; and durst not hazard a Battle to set himself at liberty.

XXXVIII. POMPEY would neither leave the Sea and *Dyrrbachium*, where he had all his Magazines and Engines of War, and whence he was supplied with Provisions by means of his Fleet; nor could he prevent the Progress of *Cæsar's* Works without fighting, which at that time he was determined against. He could do nothing therefore but extend himself, by taking in as many Hills, and as large a Circuit of Country as possible, to give his Adversary the more trouble, and divide his Forces. This he did, by raising twenty-four Forts, which took in a Circumference of fifteen Miles, wherein were arable and pasture Lands, to feed his Horses and Beasts of Burden. And as our Men had carried their Circumvallation quite round, by drawing Lines of Communication from Fort to

BOOK III. Fort, to prevent the Sallies of the Enemy, and guard against Attacks in their Rear; in like manner *Pompey's* Men had surrounded themselves with Lines, to hinder us from breaking in upon them, and charging them behind. They even perfected their Works first, because they had more Hands, and a less Circuit to inclose. When *Cæsar* endeavoured to gain any Place, *Pompey*, tho' determined not to oppose him with all his Forces, nor hazard a general Action, failed not however to detach Parties of Archers and Slingers, who wounded great Numbers of our Men, and occasioned such a dread of their Arrows, that almost all the Soldiers furnished themselves with Coats of Mail, or thick Leather, to guard against that Danger.

XXXIX. BOTH Parties disputed every Post with great Obstinacy: *Cæsar*, that he might inclose *Pompey* within as narrow a space as possible; and *Pompey*, that he might have liberty to extend himself: which occasioned many sharp Skirmishes. In one of these, *Cæsar's* ninth Legion having possessed themselves of an Eminence, which they began to fortify, *Pompey* seized the opposite Mount, with a Resolution to hinder their Works. As the Access on one side was very easy; he sent first some Archers and Slingers, and afterwards a strong Detachment of light-armed Foot, plying us at the same time with his military Engines; which obliged our Men to desist, as they found it impossible at once to sustain the Enemy's Charge, and go forward with their Works. *Cæsar* perceiving that his Men were wounded from all sides, resolved to quit the Place and retire. But as the Descent by which he must retreat was pretty steep, the *Pompeians* charged him briskly in drawing off, imagining he gave way through fear. *Pompey* went so far as to say,  
 4 " That

“ That he consented to be accounted a General of  
 “ no Merit, if *Cæsar*’s Men got off without con-  
 “ siderable Loss.” *Cæsar* concerned about the Re-  
 treat of his Men, ordered Hurdles to be fixed on  
 the Ridge of the Hill fronting the Enemy; be-  
 hind which he dug a moderate Ditch, and rendered  
 the Place as inaccessible as he could on all sides.  
 When this was done, he began to file off the le-  
 gionary Soldiers, supporting them by some light-  
 armed Troops posted on their Flanks, who with  
 Arrows and Stones might repulse the Enemy. *Pom-  
 pey*’s Troops failed not to pursue them with great  
 Outcries and fierce Menaces, overturned the Hur-  
 dles, and used them as Bridges to get over the Ditch.  
 Which *Cæsar* observing; and fearing some Disaster  
 might ensue, should he seem to be driven from a  
 Post, which he quitted voluntarily; when his  
 Forces were got half down the Hill, encouraging  
 them by *Antony*, who had the Command of that  
 Legion, he gave the Signal to face about and fall  
 on the Enemy. Immediately the Soldiers of the  
 ninth Legion, forming themselves into close Order,  
 lanced their Darts; and advancing briskly up  
 the Hill against the Enemy, forced them to give  
 ground, and at last betake themselves to flight:  
 which was not a little incommoded by the Hurdles,  
 Palisades, and Ditch, *Cæsar* had thrown up to stop  
 their Pursuit. But our Men, who fought only to  
 secure their Retreat, having killed several of the  
 Enemy, and lost only five of their own Number,  
 retired without the least disturbance, and inclosing  
 some other Hills within their Lines, compleated  
 the Circumvallation.

XL. THIS Method of making War was new  
 and extraordinary; as well in regard to the Num-  
 ber of Forts, the Extent of the Circumvallation,

BOOK the Greatness of the Works, and the Manner of At-  
 III. tack and Defence ; as on other Accounts. For who-  
 ever undertakes to invest another, is for the most  
 part moved thereto, either by some previous Defeat  
 he has sustained, the Knowledge of his Weakness,  
 to take advantage of his Distresses, to profit by a  
 Superiority of Forces ; or, in fine, to cut off his  
 Provisions, which is the most ordinary Cause of  
 these Attempts. But *Cæsar*, with an inferior Force,  
 besieged *Pompey*, whose Troops were entire, in  
 good Order, and abounded in all things. For  
 Ships arrived every Day from all Parts with Pro-  
 visions; nor could the Wind blow from any Quar-  
 ter, that was not favourable to some of them;  
 whereas *Cæsar*'s Army, having consumed all the  
 Corn round about, was reduced to the last Necessi-  
 ties. Nevertheless the Soldiers bore all with sin-  
 gular Patience ; remembering, that though reduced  
 to the like Extremity the Year before in *Spain*,  
 they had yet, by their Assiduity and Perseverance,  
 put an end to a very formidable War. They call-  
 ed to mind too their Sufferings at *Alesia*, and their  
 still greater Distresses before *Avaricum*, by which  
 however they triumphed over mighty Nations.  
 When Barley or Pulse was given them instead of  
 Corn, they took it chearfully ; and thought them-  
 selves regaled when they got any Cattle, which  
*Epirus* furnished them with in great abundance.  
 They discovered in the Country a Root called *Chara*,  
 which they pounded and kneaded with Milk, so as  
 to make a sort of Bread of it. This furnished a  
 plentiful Supply ; and when their Adversaries re-  
 proached them with their Want, by way of Answer  
 to their Insults, they threw these Loaves at them.

XLI. By this Time the Corn began to ripen,  
 and the Hopes of a speedy Supply supported the  
 Soldiers



Soldiers under their present Wants. Nay they were often heard to say one to another, that they would sooner live on the Bark of Trees, than let *Pompey* escape. For they were informed from time to time by Deserters, that their Horses were almost starved, and the rest of their Cattle actually dead : that the Troops themselves were very sickly ; partly occasioned by the narrow Space in which they were inclosed, the Number and noisom Smell of dead Carcasses, and the daily Fatigue to which they were unaccustomed ; partly by their extreme Want of Water. For *Cæsar* had either turned the Course of all the Rivers and Brooks that ran into the Sea, or dammed up their Currents. And as the Country was mountainous, intermixed with deep Valleys, by driving Piles into the Earth, and covering them with Mold, he stopped up the Course of the Waters. This obliged the Enemy to search for low and marshy Places, and to dig Wells, which added to their daily Labour. The Wells too, when discovered, lay at a considerable Distance from some Parts of the Army, and were soon dried up by the Heat. *Cæsar's* Army, on the contrary, was very healthy, abounded in Water, and had Plenty of all Kinds of Provision, Corn excepted, which they hoped to be soon supplied with, as the Season was now pretty far advanced, and Harvest approached.

XLII. In this new Method of making War, new Stratagems were every Day put in practice by both Generals. *Pompey's* Soldiers, observing by the Fires the Place where our Cohorts were upon Guard, stole thither privately by Night, and pouring upon them a Flight of Arrows, retired instantly to their Camp ; which obliged our Men to have Fires in one Place, and keep Guard in another.

BOOK XLIII. MEAN-WHILE *P. Sylla*, whom *Cæsar*, at  
 III. his Departure, had left to command the Camp,  
 being informed of what passed, came to the Assistance of the Cohort with two Legions. His Arrival soon put the *Pompeians* to flight, who could not stand the very Sight and Shock of his Troops; but seeing their first Ranks broken, took to their heels, and quitted the Place. *Sylla* checked the Ardour of his Men, whom he would not suffer to continue the Pursuit too far; and it was the general Belief, that had he pursued the Enemy warmly, that Day might have put an end to the War. His Conduct however cannot be justly censured; for the Difference is great between a Lieutenant and a General: the one is tied up to act according to Instructions; the other, free from Restraint, is at liberty to lay hold of all Advantages. *Sylla*, who was left by *Cæsar* to take care of the Camp, was satisfied with having disengaged his own Men; and had no Intention to hazard a general Action, which might have been attended with ill Consequences, and would have looked like arrogating the Part of a General. The *Pompeians* found it no easy matter to make good their Retreat: for having advanced from a very disadvantageous Post to the Summit of the Hill, they had reason to fear our Men would charge them in descending; and the rather, as it was very near Sun-set; for they had protracted the Affair almost 'till Night, in hopes of accomplishing their Design. Thus *Pompey*, compelled by Necessity, immediately took possession of an Eminence, at such a Distance from our Fort, as to be secure from Darts and military Engines. Here he encamped, threw up an Intrenchment, and drew his Forces together to defend the Place.

XLIV. At the same time we were engaged in BOOK III.  
 two other Places; for *Pompey* attacked several  
 Castles together, to divide our Forces, and hinder  
 the Forts from mutually succouring one another.  
 In one of these, *Volcatius Tullus*, with three Cohorts,  
 sustained the Charge of a whole Legion, and forced  
 them to retire. In the other, the *Germans*, sal-  
 lying out of their Intrenchments, slew several of  
 the Enemy, and returned again without Loss,

XLV. Thus there happened no less than six  
 Actions in one Day; three near *Dyrrbachium*, and  
 three about the Lines. In computing the Num-  
 ber of the slain, it appeared, that *Pompey* lost about  
 two thousand Men, with several Volunteers and  
 Centurions, among whom was *Valerius Flaccus*, the  
 Son of *Lucius*, who had formerly been Prætor of  
*Aſia*. We gained six Standards, with the Loss of  
 no more than twenty Men in all the Attacks: but  
 in the Fort, not a Soldier escaped being wounded;  
 and four Centurions belonging to one Cohort, lost  
 their Eyes. As a proof of the Danger they had  
 been exposed to, and the Efforts they had sustain-  
 ed, they brought and counted to *Cæſar* about thirty  
 thousand Arrows that had been shot into the Fort;  
 and shewed him the Centurion *Scæva*'s Buckler,  
 which was pierced in two hundred and thirty Places.  
*Cæſar*, as a Reward for his Services both to him-  
 self and the Republick, presented him with two  
 hundred thousand Asses, and advanced him directly  
 from the eighth Rank of Captains to the first; it  
 appearing, that the Preservation of the Fort was  
 chiefly owing to his Valour. He also distributed  
 military Rewards among the other Officers and Sol-  
 diers of that Cohort; and assigned them double  
 Pay, and a double Allowance of Corn.

XLVI.

BOOK XLVI. POMPEY laboured all Night at his For-  
 III. tifications, raised Redoubts the following Days,  
 and having carried his Works fifteen Foot high, covered that Part of his Camp with Mantelets. Five Days after, taking advantage of a very dark Night, he walled up the Gates of his Camp, rendered all the Avenues impracticable ; and drawing out his Troops in great Silence about Midnight, returned to his former Works.

XLVII. ÆTOLIA, *Acarmania*, and *Amphilochis*, having been reduced by *Cassius Longinus*, and *Calvisius Sabinus*, as we have related above ; *Cæsar* thought it expedient to pursue his Conquests, and attempt to gain *Achaia*. Accordingly he dispatched *Fufius Kalenus* thither, ordering *Sabinus* and *Cassius* to join him, with the Cohorts under their Command. *Rutilius Lupus*, *Pompey's* Lieutenant in *Achaia*, hearing of their Approach, resolved to fortify the Isthmus, and thereby hinder *Fufius* from entering the Province. *Delphos*, *Thebes*, and *Orchomenus*, voluntarily submitted to *Kalenus* : some States he obtained by Force ; and sending Deputies to the rest, endeavoured to make them declare for *Cæsar*. These Negotiations found sufficient Employment for *Fufius*.

XLVIII. CÆSAR, mean-while, drew up his Army every Day, offering *Pompey* battle upon equal Ground ; and, to provoke him to accept it, advanced so near his Camp, that his Van was within Engine-shot of the Rampart. *Pompey*, to preserve his Reputation, drew out his Legions too ; but posted them in such a manner, that his third Line touched the Rampart, and the whole Army lay



lay under cover of the Weapons discharged from thence. BOOK  
III.

XLIX. WHILST these Things passed in *Achaia* and at *Dyrrhachium*, and it was now known that *Scipio* was arrived in *Macedonia*; *Cæsar* still adhering to his former Views of Peace, dispatched *Clodius* to him, an intimate Friend of both, whom he had taken into his Service upon *Scipio*'s Recommendation. At his Departure, he charged him with Letters and Instructions to this Effect: " That he had  
" tried all ways to bring about a Peace, but be-  
" lieved he had hitherto miscarried, thro' the Fault  
" of those to whom his Proposals were addressed,  
" because they dreaded presenting them to *Pompey*  
" at an improper Time: That he knew *Scipio*'s  
" Authority to be such, as not only privileged him  
" to advise freely, but even to inforce his Counsels,  
" and compel the obstinate to hearken to Reason:  
" That he was possessed of an independent Com-  
" mand, and had an Army at his Disposal to give  
" weight to his Interposition: That in employing  
" it for so desirable an end, he would gain the in-  
" disputable Praise of having restored Quiet to  
" *Italy*, Peace to the Provinces, and saved the  
" Empire." *Clodius* reported this Commission to *Scipio*, and at first met with a favourable Reception, but was afterwards denied Audience: for *Favonius* having sharply reprimanded *Scipio*, as we learnt after the conclusion of the War, the Negotiation was discontinued, and *Clodius* returned to *Cæsar* without Success.

L. CÆSAR, the more effectually to shut up *Pompey*'s Horse at *Dyrrhachium*, and hinder them from foraging, blocked up the two narrow Passes, of which we have spoken, with strong Works, and raised

BOOK raised Forts to defend them. *Pompey* finding his

III. Cavalry rendered by this means unserviceable, conveyed them some Days after by Sea to his Camp again. Forage was so scarce, that they were forced to have recourse to the Leaves of Trees, and the Roots of green Reeds bruised: for the Corn sown within their Lines was all consumed; nor had they had any Supplies, but what came a long way about by Sea, from *Corcyra* and *Acarnania*; and even this was so inconsiderable, that to increase the Quantity, they were forced to mix it with Barley, and by these Contrivances support their Horses. At last, all Expedients being exhausted, and the Horses dying daily, *Pompey* thought it time to attempt to force the Barricade, and set himself at liberty.

LI. AMONG the Cavalry in *Cæsar's* Camp, were two Brothers, *Allobrogiens* by Birth, named *Roseillus* and *Ægus*, the Sons of *Adbucillus*, who had long held the chief Sway in his own State; Men of singular Bravery, and who had been of signal Service to *Cæsar* in all his *Gallick* Wars. For these Reasons he had raised them to the highest Offices in their own Country, got them chosen into the Senate before they were of Age, given them Lands in *Gaul* taken from the Enemy, besides pecuniary Rewards to a great Value, insomuch that from very moderate Beginnings they had risen to vast Wealth. These Men were not only highly honoured by *Cæsar* on account of their Bravery, but in great Esteem with the whole Army. But presuming on *Cæsar's* Friendship, and foolishly elated with their Prosperity, they used the Troopers ill, defrauded them of their Pay, and secreted all the Plunder to their own Use. The *Gaulish* Cavalry, offended at these Proceedings, went in a Body to *Cæsar*, and openly complained of the two Brothers; adding, among other

other Accusations, that by giving in false Musters they received Pay for more Men than they had. *Cæsar* not thinking it a proper Time for Animadversion, and regarding them greatly on account of their Valour, declined all publick Notice of the Affair, and contented himself with reprimanding them in private; admonishing them to expect every thing from his Friendship, and to measure their future Hopes by the Experience of what he had already done for them. This Rebuke, however, disgusted them greatly, and very much lessened their Credit with the whole Army; which they easily perceived, as well from the Raillery they were often forced to bear, as in consequence of the secret Reproaches and Sense of their own Minds. Thus prompted by Shame, and perhaps imagining they were not cleared, but reserved to a more favourable Opportunity; they resolved to desert, try their Fortune elsewhere, and search for new Friendships. Having imparted their Design to a few of their Clients, whom they judged fit Instruments for so black a Treason; they first attempted to murder *C. Volusenus*, General of the Cavalry, (as was afterwards known, when the War was over,) that by so signal a Piece of Service they might the more effectually recommend themselves to *Pompey's* Favour. But finding that Design attended with great hazard, and that no favourable Opportunity offered for putting it in execution; they borrowed all the Money they could, under pretence of reimbursing the Troops, and making Restitution; and having bought up a great Number of Horses, went over to *Pompey*, with those whom they had made acquainted with their Design. As they were Persons of noble Birth, liberally educated, came with a great Train of Horses and Servants, had been highly honoured by *Cæsar*, and were universally esteemed

BOOK esteemed on account of their Valour; *Pompey* car-

III. ried them ostentatiously over all the Camp, triumphing in this new and unusual Acquisition: for 'till then, neither Horse nor Foot-Soldier had deserted from *Cæsar* to *Pompey*; whereas scarce a Day passed without some Desertion from *Pompey's* Army, especially among the new Levies in *Epirus*, *Ætolia*, and those Countries that had declared for *Cæsar*. The Brothers being well acquainted with the Condition of *Cæsar's* Camp, what was wanting to compleat the Fortifications, where the Foible of the Lines lay, the particular Times, Distance of Places, Strength and Vigilance of the Guards, with the Temper and Character of the Officers who commanded in every Post, made an exact Report of all to *Pompey*.

LII. UPON this Intelligence, having already formed the Design of forcing *Cæsar's* Lines, he ordered the Soldiers to make Coverings of Osier for their Helmets, and provide themselves with Fascines. This done, he embarked by Night, in Boats and small Barks, a great Number of light-armed Troops and Archers, with the Fascines for filling up *Cæsar's* Trenches; and having drawn together sixty Cohorts from the greater Camp and Forts, led them about Midnight towards that Part of the Enemy's Lines nearest the Sea, a good Distance from the main Camp. Thither likewise he dispatched the Barks, on board of which were the light-armed Troops and Fascines, together with all the Gallies that lay at *Dyrrhachium*, giving each their particular Instructions. *Lentulus Marcellinus* the Quæstor, with the ninth Legion, had charge of this Part of the Fortifications; and as his Health was but infirm, *Cæsar* had joined *Fulvius Posthumus* with him in the Command.

LIII.



LIII. THIS Place was guarded by a Ditch fif-  
 teen Foot broad, with a Rampart towards the Ene-  
 my ten Foot high, and of equal thicknefs. Behind  
 this, at the Distance of fix hundred Feet, was  
 another Rampart fomewhat lower than the former,  
 and fronting the contrary way. *Cæſar* apprehend-  
 ing an Attack from the Sea, had raiſed this double  
 Rampart ſome Days before, that he might be able  
 to defend himſelf againſt the Enemy, ſhould they  
 charge him on both ſides at once. But the Extent  
 of the Circumvallation, and the continued Labour  
 of ſo many Days, in incloſing a Space of eighteen  
 Miles, had not allowed us time to finiſh the Work.  
 Accordingly the Line of Communication, which  
 ran along the Sea-ſide, and was to have joined theſe  
 two Ramparts, was not yet compleated. This  
*Pompey* was informed of by the *Allobrogian* Brothers,  
 which proved of fatal Conſequence to us. For  
 while ſome Cohorts of the ninth Legion were up-  
 on Guard near the Sea, ſuddenly the *Pompeians* ar-  
 rived about Day-break, and ſurprized them with  
 their unexpected Appearance. At the ſame time  
 the Troops that came by Sea, lanced their Darts  
 againſt the outward Rampart, and began to fill up  
 the Ditch with Faſcines; while the legionary Sol-  
 diers, planting their Scaling-ladders againſt the  
 inner Works, and plying thoſe that defended them  
 with Darts and Engines, ſpread a general Terror  
 over that part of the Camp, which was ſtill increaſ-  
 ed by the multitude of Archers that came pouring  
 upon them from all ſides. The Officers they had  
 bound round their Helmets, contributed greatly to  
 defend them from the Stones thrown down from  
 the Rampart, which were the only Weapons we  
 had. At laſt, all things going againſt us, and  
 our Reſiſtance becoming every Moment more lan-  
 guid,

BOOK III. guid, the Enemy discovered the Defect before  
 spoken of in our Lines; and landing their Men  
 between the two Ramparts, where the Line of  
 Communication towards the Sea remained unfinished,  
 they attacked our Soldiers in the Rear, and  
 obliged them to abandon both sides of the Works.

LIV. MARCELLINUS hearing of this Disorder, detached some Cohorts to sustain the flying Troops: but as the Rout was become general, they could neither persuade them to rally, nor were able themselves to withstand the Enemy's Charge. The like happened to a second Detachment; insomuch that the several Supplies sent, by catching the general Terror, served only to add to the Confusion and Danger: for the Multitude of Runaways rendered the Retreat the more difficult. In this Action the Eagle-bearer of the ninth Legion, finding himself dangerously wounded, and that his Strength began to fail, called to some Troopers who passed by, and said: "I have preserved, to the last Moment  
 " of my Life, with the greatest Care, this Eagle,  
 " with which I have been entrusted; and now I  
 " am dying, I return it to *Cæsar*, with the same  
 " Fidelity. Carry it to him, I beseech you; nor  
 " suffer *Cæsar's* Arms to experience, in losing it,  
 " an Ignominy with which they have been hitherto  
 " unacquainted." Thus the Eagle was preserved; but all the Centurions of the first Cohort were slain, except the first Captain of the Principes.

LV. AND now the *Pompeians*, having made great Slaughter of our Men, approached the Quarters of *Marcellinus*, to the no small Terror of the rest of the Cohorts; when *Mark Antony*, who commanded in the nearest Redoubts, upon Notice of what passed, was seen descending from the higher  
 Ground

Ground at the Head of twelve Cohorts. His Ar-BOOK  
rival put a Stop to the Enemy's Progress, and by III.  
enabling our Men to recover from their extreme  
Terror, restored them to their wonted Courage.  
Soon after *Cæsar* arrived in Person with some Troops,  
being apprised of the Attack by the Smoke of the  
Forts, the usual Signal on these Occasions: and  
perceiving the Loss he had sustained, and that  
*Pompey* had forced the Lines, being able to forage,  
and having an easy Communication with the Sea;  
he quitted his former Project, which had proved  
unsuccessful, and encamped as near *Pompey* as he  
could.

LVI. WHEN the Intrenchments were finished,  
*Cæsar* had notice from his Scouts, that a certain  
Number of the Enemy's Cohorts, which to them  
appeared a compleat Legion, were retired behind a  
Wood, and seemed to be on their March to the old  
Camp. The Situation of the two Armies was this:  
Some Days before, when *Cæsar*'s ninth Legion was  
sent to oppose a Body of *Pompey*'s Troops, they  
thought proper to intrench themselves upon an op-  
posite Hill, and form a Camp there. This Camp  
bordered upon a Wood, and was not above four  
hundred Paces from the Sea. But afterwards, for  
certain Reasons, *Cæsar* removed a little beyond that  
Post; and *Pompey*, a few Days after, took Posses-  
sion of it. But as his Design was to place several  
Legions there; leaving the inner Rampart stand-  
ing, he surrounded it with greater Works. Thus  
the smaller Camp, inclosed within one of larger  
Circumference, served by way of a Castle or Cita-  
del. He likewise carried an Intrenchment from the  
left Angle of the Camp to the River, thro' a Space  
of about four hundred Paces, which enabled him  
to water freely and without Danger. But he too,

BOOK soon after, changed his Mind, for Reasons which

III. it is not needful to repeat here; and abandoned the  
 Place, which thereby was left several Days without  
 Troops, though the Fortifications remained entire.  
 Hither the Scouts reported they saw the Standard  
 of a Legion carried; which was likewise confirmed  
 by those who were stationed in the higher Forts.  
 The Place was about five hundred Paces distant  
 from *Pompey's* new Camp. *Cæsar* desirous to repair  
 the Loss he had sustained, and hoping he might be  
 able to surprize this Legion, left two Cohorts in  
 his Intrenchments, to prevent any Suspicion of his  
 Design; and with thirty-three more, amongst which  
 Number was the ninth Legion, which had lost  
 many Centurions and Soldiers, marched by a dif-  
 ferent Rout, as privately as he could, against the  
 Legion which *Pompey* had lodged in the lesser Camp.  
 Neither was he deceived in his first Conjecture: for  
 he arrived before *Pompey* could have notice of his  
 Design; and tho' the Intrenchments were strong,  
 yet charging the Enemy briskly with his left Wing,  
 where he himself commanded in Person, he quickly  
 drove them from the Rampart. But as the Gates  
 were secured by a Barricade, they still maintained  
 the Fight here for some time, our Men endeavour-  
 ing to break in, and the Enemy to defend the Camp.  
*T. Pulcio*, who betrayed the Army of *C. Antony*, as  
 we have related above, gave signal Proofs of his  
 Valour on this Occasion. But our Men at last pre-  
 vailed; and having cut down the Barricade, broke  
 first into the greater Camp, and afterwards into the  
 Fort within it, whither the Legion had retired,  
 some of whom were slain endeavouring to defend  
 themselves.

LVII. BUT Fortune, whose Influence is very  
 great, as in other things, so particularly in War;  
 often



often effects mighty Changes from the most trifling Causes; as happened upon this Occasion. For the Cohorts of *Cæsar's* right Wing being unacquainted with the Situation of the Camp, and mistaking the Rampart which led to the River for one of its Sides, marched on that way in quest of a Gate; but perceiving at length their Error, and that no-body defended the Intrenchment, they immediately mounted the Rampart, and were followed by the whole Cavalry. This Delay saved the Enemy: for *Pompey* having notice of what passed, brought up the fifth Legion to sustain his Party; so that at one and the same Instant, his Cavalry approached ours, and his Troops were seen advancing in Order of Battle, by those who had taken Possession of the Camp: which quickly changed the face of Affairs. For *Pompey's* Legion, encouraged by the Hope of speedy Succours, sallied by the *Decuman* Port, and briskly charged our Cohorts. On the other hand, *Cæsar's* Cavalry, who had entered by a narrow Breach in the Rampart, foreseeing that a Retreat would be extremely difficult, began betimes to think of flying. The right Wing, which had no Communication with the left, observing the Consternation of the Cavalry, and fearing they should be overpowered within the Camp, retired the same Way they had entered. Many, to avoid being engaged in the narrow Passes, threw themselves from the Rampart, which was ten Foot high, into the Ditch; where the first Ranks being troden to death, their Bodies afforded a safe Passage to those that followed. The left Wing, who from the Rampart whence they had driven the Enemy, saw *Pompey* advancing against them, and their own Men flying; fearing to be entangled in the Defiles, as they had the Enemy upon them both within and without the Camp, retreated the same Way they came. No-

BOOK thing was to be seen but Consternation, Flying,  
 III. and Disorder; infomuch that all *Cæsar's* Efforts to  
 rally his Troops were fruitless. If he seized any  
 by the Arm, they struggled till they got away.  
 If he laid hold of the Colours, they left them in  
 his Hands. Not a Man could be prevailed on to  
 face about.

LVIII. IN this Calamity, what saved the Army  
 from entire Destruction was, that *Pompey* apprehending an *Ambuscade* (probably because the Success was beyond his Hopes, as a little before he had seen his Men worsted and put to flight) durst not for some time approach the Intrenchments; and his Cavalry were retarded in the Pursuit by *Cæsar's* Troops, who were possessed of all the Gates and Defiles. Be that as it will, a small Matter proved of very great Consequence to both Parties: for the Intrenchment between the Camp and the River, stopped the Course of *Cæsar's* Victory, when he had already forced *Pompey's* Lines: and the same, by retarding the Pursuit of the Enemy, saved his Army from Destruction.

LIX. IN these two Actions, *Cæsar* lost nine hundred and sixty private Men, thirty Officers, and several Knights of Note, as *Flavius Tuticanus Gallus*, a Senator's Son; *C. Felginus* of *Placentia*; *A. Gravius* of *Puteoli*; and *M. Sacrativir* of *Capua*. But the greatest Part of these died without Wounds, being troden to death in the Ditch, about the Works, and on the Banks of the River, occasioned by the Flight and Terror of their own Men. He lost also thirty-two Colours. *Pompey* was saluted Emperor on this Occasion; a Title which he bore ever after, and suffered himself to be accosted by: but neither in the Letters which he wrote,  
 nor

nor in his Consular Ensigns did he think proper to assume the Laurel. The Prisoners were delivered up to *Labienus* at his own Request; and this Deserter, brutal and cruel as usual, diverted himself with insulting them in their Calamity; and asked them sarcastically, if it was usual for Veterans to run away; after which he caused them all to be put to death.

BOOK  
III.

LX. THIS Success gave such Confidence and Spirit to the *Pompeian* Party, that they now no longer took any concern about the Conduct of the War, but began to consider themselves as already victorious. They never reflected on the considerable Number of our Troops, the Disadvantage of the Ground, the narrow Passes we were engaged in by their having first Possession of the Camp, the double Danger both within and without the Fortifications, and the Separation of the two Wings of the Army, which hindered them from mutually succouring one another. They forgot that the Advantage they had gained, was not the Effect of a brisk and vigorous Attack; and that our Men had suffered more by crouding upon one another in the narrow Passes, than by the Sword of the Enemy. In fine, they never called to mind the uncertain Chance of War, and upon what minute Causes good or bad Success often depend; how a groundless Suspicion, a panick Terror, or a religious Scruple, have frequently been productive of the most fatal Events; when either by the Misconduct of a General, or the Error of a Tribune, some false Persuasion has been suffered to take root in an Army. But as if the Victory had been purely the Effect of their Valour, and no Change of Fortune was to be apprehended, they every where

BOOK proclaimed and made publick the Success of this  
 III. Day.

LXI. CÆSAR seeing all his former Projects disconcerted, resolved to submit to Fortune, and entirely change the Manner of the War. He therefore called in all his Forces from the Forts, gave up the Design of inclosing *Pompey*, and having assembled his Army, addressed them as follows:

“ That they ought not to be discouraged, or give  
 “ way to Consternation upon what had lately hap-  
 “ pened, but oppose their many successful Engage-  
 “ ments to one slight and inconsiderable Check.  
 “ That Fortune had already befriended them great-  
 “ ly, in the Reduction of *Italy* without Bloodshed;  
 “ in the Conquest of the two *Spains*, though de-  
 “ fended by warlike Troops, under the Conduct  
 “ of skilful and experienced Leaders; and in the  
 “ Subjection of the neighbouring Provinces,  
 “ whence they could be plentifully supplied with  
 “ Corn. In fine, they ought to call to mind,  
 “ how happily they had passed into *Greece*, through  
 “ the midst of the Enemy's Fleets, though possess-  
 “ ed of all the Coasts and Havens. If they were  
 “ not successful in every thing, they must endea-  
 “ vour by Prudence to overcome the Disappoint-  
 “ ments of Fortune; and attribute their late Dis-  
 “ aster to the Caprice of that Goddess, rather than  
 “ to any Fault on their Side. That he had led  
 “ them to an advantageous Ground, and put them  
 “ in the Possession of the Enemy's Camp, after  
 “ driving them from all their Works. If either  
 “ some sudden Consternation, the mistaking their  
 “ Way, or any other Mishap, had snatched an ap-  
 “ parent and almost certain Victory out of their  
 “ Hands, they ought to exert their utmost Endea-  
 “ vours to repair that Disgrace; which would turn  
 “ their



“ their Misfortunes to a Benefit, as happened at *Gergovia* ; where those who at first dreaded to encounter the Enemy, demanded earnestly in the end to be led to Battle.” Having made this Speech, he contented himself with stigmatizing, and reducing to private Men, some of the Standard-bearers : for the whole Army were so grieved at their Loss, and so desirous of expunging the Stain their Glory had received, that there was no occasion either for the Tribunes or Centurions to remind them of their Duty : nay they even undertook to punish themselves by the severest Impositions, and demanded with great Outcries to be led against the Enemy ; being seconded by some Centurions of the first Rank, who touched with their Remonstrances, were for continuing in the Post they then possessed, and putting all to the hazard of a Battle. But *Cæsar* did not think it prudent to expose to an Action Troops that had been just worsted, and in whom might remain too deep Impressions of their late Fright. He was for allowing them Time to recover themselves ; and having quitted his Works, thought it needful to provide for the Security of his Convoys.

LXII. ACCORDINGLY, after proper Care taken of the sick and wounded, and as soon as Night approached, he sent all the Baggage privately towards *Apollonia*, under a Guard of one Legion, with Orders not to halt 'till they had reached the Place. This Affair dispatched, he made two Legions remain in the Camp, and marching out all the rest about three in the Morning at several Gates, ordered them to follow the same Rout the Baggage had taken. Soon after, that his Departure might not have the Appearance of a Flight, and yet be known to the Enemy as late as possible, he ordered

BOOK  
III.

the usual Signal to be given; and setting out with the rest of his Forces, lost sight of the Camp in a Moment. *Pompey* hearing of his Retreat, prepared to follow him without delay, and hoping to surprise the Army in its March, whilst incumbered with Baggage, and not yet recovered from its Consternation, drew out all his Troops, and sent his Cavalry before to retard our Rear: which however he could not overtake, because *Cæsar* marching without Baggage, had got a great way before him. But when we came to the River *Genusus*, we found the Banks so steep and difficult, that before all the Men could get over, *Pompey's* Cavalry came up, and fell upon our hindmost Battalions. *Cæsar* sent his Horse to oppose them, intermixed with some light-armed Troops; who charged with that Vigour and Success, as to put them all to rout, leave a considerable Number dead upon the Field, and return without Loss to the main Body of their Army.

LXIII. HAVING compleated the intended March of that Day, and brought his Army over the *Genusus*, he took up his Quarters in his old Camp at *Asparagium*, suffering none of the Soldiers to stroll without the Rampart, and charging the Cavalry, who had been sent out under pretence of foraging, to return immediately by the *Decuman* Port. *Pompey* likewise, having compleated that Day's March, encamped at his old Post at *Asparagium*; where the Troops having nothing to do, because the Works were still entire; some made long Excursions in quest of Wood and Forage; others, who had come almost without any Baggage, by reason the March was undertaken on a sudden, enticed by the nearness of their former Camp, laid down their Arms in their Tents, quitted the Intrenchments, and  
went

went to fetch what they had left behind them. **BOOK III.**  
 This rendering them unable to pursue, as *Cæsar* had foreseen; about Noon, he gave the Signal for decamping, led forth his Troops, and doubling that Day's March, gained eight Miles upon *Pompey*, who could not follow him by reason his Troops were dispersed.

LXIV. NEXT Day *Cæsar* decamped again at three in the Morning, having sent away his Baggage over Night, that if he should find himself under a Necessity of fighting, he might have his Army clear of all Incumbrance. The same he did the following Days: by which means, tho' he had very difficult Ways to pass, and some great Rivers to cross, he suffered no Loss during the whole March. For *Pompey*, after the first Day's hindrance, endeavouring in vain by long and forced Marches to overtake *Cæsar*, gave over the Pursuit on the fourth, and began to think of taking other Measures.

LXV. CÆSAR was under a Necessity of going to *Apollonia*, to leave his wounded there, to pay his Army, confirm his Friends in their Duty, and garrison the Towns that had submitted. But he took no longer time to these Affairs, than the Importance of his other Engagements would allow. For fearing that *Pompey* might surprise *Domitius Calvinus*, he put himself in full march to join him. The Scheme he proceeded on was this: that if *Pompey* took the same Rout, he must leave the Sea, the Forces he had at *Dyrrhachium*, with all his Ammunition and Provision, which would bring them upon equal Terms: if he passed into *Italy*, *Cæsar* purposed to join *Domitius*, and march to its Defence by the Coast of *Illyricum*: in fine, should he

BOOK III. He fall upon *Apollonia* and *Oricum*, and endeavour to exclude him from the Sea-coast; in that case he reckoned to oblige him, by attacking *Metellus Scipio*, to leave every thing to succour him. *Cæsar* therefore dispatched Couriers to *Domitius*, to acquaint him with his Design; and leaving four Cohorts at *Apollonia*, one at *Lissus*, and three at *Oricum*, with the sick and wounded, began his March thro' *Epirus* and *Acarmania*. *Pompey* on his side, guessing *Cæsar's* Design, made what haste he could to join *Scipio*; that if *Cæsar* should march that way, he might prevent his being overpower'd: but should he still keep near *Cercyra*, and the Sea, because of the Legions and Cavalry he expected from *Italy*; in that case, he purposed to fall upon *Domitius* with all his Forces.

LXVI. FOR these Reasons both Generals studied Dispatch, as well to afford timely Succour to their Friends, as not to miss an Opportunity of distressing their Enemies. But *Cæsar* had turned off to *Apollonia*; whereas *Pompey* took the nearest Way through *Candavia* for *Macedonia*. It happened too very unfortunately, that *Domitius*, who for several Days had been encamped near *Scipio*, quitted that Station for the convenience of Provisions, and was upon his march to *Heraclea Sentica*, a City of the *Candavians*; so that Chance seemed to throw him directly in *Pompey's* way, which *Cæsar* had not then the least knowledge of. *Pompey* too having sent Letters thro' all the States and Provinces, relating to the Action at *Dyrrbachium*, with Representations that far exceeded the Truth; a Rumour began to prevail, that *Cæsar* had been defeated with the loss of almost all his Forces, and was forced to fly before *Pompey*. These Reports raised him many Enemies on his March, and induced some States to throw



throw off their Allegiance; whence it happened, that the Couriers mutually sent by *Cæsar* and *Domitius*, were all intercepted. But the *Allobrogians* in the Train of *Ægus* and *Roscillus*, who, as we have seen before, had deserted from *Cæsar* to *Pompey*, meeting some of *Domitius*'s Scouts; either out of ancient Custom, because they had served together in the *Gallick Wars*; or from a motive of Vain-glory; informed them of all that had passed; of *Pompey*'s Victory, and *Cæsar*'s Retreat. Advice been given of this to *Calvinus*, who was not above four Hours March from the Enemy, he avoided the Danger by a timely Retreat, and joined *Cæsar* near *Æginium*, a Town on the Borders of *Thessaly*.

LXVII. AFTER the junction of the two Armies, *Cæsar* arrived at *Gomphi*, the first Town of *Thessaly*, as you come from *Epirus*. A few Months before, the Inhabitants had of their own accord sent Ambassadors to *Cæsar*, to make an offer of what their Country afforded, and petition for a Garrison. But the Report of the Action at *Dyrrhachium*, with many groundless Additions, had by this time reached their Ears. And therefore *Androstenes* Prætor of *Thessaly*, choosing rather to be the Companion of *Pompey*'s good Fortune, than associate with *Cæsar* in his Adversity; ordered all the People, whether Slaves or free, to assemble in the Town; and having shut the Gates against *Cæsar*, sent Letters to *Scipio* and *Pompey* to come to his Assistance, intimating: "That the Town was strong enough to hold out if they used Dispatch, but by no means in condition to sustain a long Siege." *Scipio*, on Advice of the Departure of the Armies from *Dyrrhachium*, was come to *Larissa* with his Legions; and *Pompey* was yet far enough distant from *Thessaly*. *Cæsar* having fortified his Camp, ordered

BOOK III. ordered Mantelets, Hurdles, and Scaling-ladders to be prepared for a sudden Attack; and then exhorting his Men, represented; "Of how great consequence it was to render themselves Masters of an opulent City, abounding in all things needful for the supply of their Wants, and by the Terror of whose Punishment other States would be awed into Submission: and this, he told them, must be done quickly, before any Succours could arrive." Accordingly, seizing the Opportunity offered by the uncommon Ardor of the Troops, he attacked the Town the same Day about three in the Afternoon; and having made himself Master of it before Sun-set, gave it up to be plundered. From *Gomphi* Cæsar marched directly to *Metropolis*, and arrived before they were acquainted with the Misfortune of their Neighbours.

LXVIII. THE *Metropolitans* at first following the Example of *Gomphi*, to which they were moved by the same Reports, shut their Gates, and manned the Walls. But no sooner came they to understand the Fate of their neighbour City, by some Prisoners whom Cæsar produced for that end, than immediately they admitted him into the Town. He suffered no Hostilities to be committed, nor any Harm to be done them; and so powerful was the Example, from the different Treatment of these two Cities, that not a single State in *Thessaly* refused to submit to Cæsar, and receive his Orders, except *Larissa*, which was awed by the numerous Army of *Metellus Scipio*. As the Country was good, and covered with Corn, which was near ripe, Cæsar took up his Quarters there, judging it a proper Place to wait for *Pompey* in, and render the Theatre of the War.

LXIX.

LXIX. A few Days after *Pompey* arrived in *Thessaly*; and joining *Metellus Scipio*, harangued both Armies. He first thanked his own for their late Services; and then turning to *Scipio's* Troops, exhorted them to put in for their Share of the Booty, which the Victory already obtained gave them the fairest Prospect of. Both Armies being received into one Camp, he shared all the Honours of Command with *Scipio*, ordered a Pavilion to be erected for him, and the Trumpets to sound before it. This Increase of *Pompey's* Forces, by the conjunction of two mighty Armies, raised the Confidence of his Followers, and their Assurance of Victory to such a degree, that all Delays were considered as a Hindrance of their Return to *Italy*; inasmuch that if *Pompey* on any Occasion acted with Slowness and Circumspection, they failed not to cry out: "That he industriously protracted an Affair, for the Dispatch of which one Day was sufficient, in the view of gratifying his Ambition for Command, and having consular and prætorian Senators amongst the Number of his Servants." Already they began to dispute about Rewards and Dignities, and fixed upon the Persons who were annually to succeed to the Consulship. Others sued for the Houses and Estates of those who had followed *Cæsar's* Party. A warm Debate arose in Council in relation to *L. Hirrus*, whom *Pompey* had sent against the *Parthians*, whether in the next Election of Prætors, he should be allowed to stand Candidate for that Office in his Absence; his Friends imploring *Pompey* to make good the Promise he had made him at his Departure, and not suffer him to be deceived by depending on the General's Honour; while such as aspired at this Office complained publicly, that a Promise should be made to any one Candidate,

BOOK Candidate, when all were embarked in the same

III. Cause, and shared the like Dangers. Already *Domitius*, *Scipio*, and *Lentulus Spintber*, were openly quarrelling about the High-priesthood, which *Cæsar* was in possession of. They even descended to personal Abuse, and pleaded their several Pretensions; *Lentulus* urging the Respect due to his Age; *Domitius*, his Dignity, and the Interest he had in the City; and *Scipio* his Alliance with *Pompey*. *Attius Rufus* impeached *L. Afranius* before *Pompey*, charging him with having occasioned the Loss of the Army in *Spain*. And *L. Domitius* moved in Council, that after the Victory, all the Senators in *Pompey's* Army and Camps, should be appointed Judges, and empowered to proceed against those who had stay'd in *Italy*, or who had appeared cool, or shewn any Indifference to the Cause; and that three Billets should be given to these Judges, one for Acquittance, another for Condemnation, and a third for a pecuniary Fine. In a word, nothing was thought on but Honours, or Profit, or Vengeance; nor did they consider by what Methods they were to conquer, but what Advantage they should make of Victory.

LXX. CÆSAR having provided for the Subsistence of his Troops, who were now no longer fatigued, and had sufficiently recovered from the Consternation the different Actions at *Dyrrbachium* had thrown them into; thought it high time to make trial how *Pompey* stood affected to an Engagement. Accordingly he drew out his Men, and formed them in order of Battle; at first near his own Camp, and somewhat distant from the Enemy: but perceiving this had no effect on *Pompey*, who still maintained his Post on the Eminences, he each Day drew nearer, and by that Conduct animated  
and



and gave fresh Courage to his Soldiers. His Caval-  
 ry being much inferior to the Enemy's in Number,  
 he followed the Method already mentioned; of  
 singling out the strongest and nimblest of his Foot-  
 soldiers, and accustoming them to fight intermixed  
 with the Horse; in which way of Combat they  
 were become very expert by daily Practice. This  
 Disposition, joined to constant Exercise, so em-  
 boldened his Cavalry, that though but a thousand  
 in Number, they would upon occasion sustain the  
 Charge of *Pompey's* seven thousand, even in an open  
 Plain, and appear not greatly dismayed at their  
 Multitude: nay they actually got the better in a  
 Skirmish that happened between them, and killed  
*Ægus* the *Allobrogian*, one of the two Brothers who  
 deserted to *Pompey*, with several others of his Party.

LXXI. POMPEY, whose Camp was on an Emi-  
 nence, drew up his Army at the Foot of the Moun-  
 tain, expecting, as may be presumed, that *Cæsar*  
 would attack him in that advantageous Situation.  
 But *Cæsar* despairing to draw *Pompey* to a Battle on  
 equal Terms, thought it would be his best course to  
 decamp, and be always upon the March; in hopes,  
 that by frequently shifting his Ground, he might  
 the better be supplied with Provisions; and that  
 as the Enemy would not fail following him, in the  
 frequent Marches he should make, he might per-  
 haps find an Opportunity of attacking them, and  
 forcing them to fight: at least he was sure of har-  
 assing *Pompey's* Army, little accustomed to these  
 continued Fatigues. Accordingly the Order for  
 marching was given, and the Tents struck, when  
*Cæsar* perceived that *Pompey's* Army, which had  
 quitted their Intrenchments, had advanced further  
 towards the Plain than usual, so that he might en-  
 gage them at a less Disadvantage: whereupon ad-  
 dressing

BOOK dressing himself to his Soldiers, who were just ready  
 III. to march out of their Trenches; "Let us no  
 longer think, says he, of marching; now is the  
 time for fighting, so long wish'd for; let us  
 therefore arm ourselves with Courage, and not  
 miss so favourable an Opportunity." This said,  
 he immediately drew out his Forces.

LXXII. POMPEY likewise, as was afterwards known, had resolved to offer Battle, in compliance with the repeated Importunities of his Friends. He even said in a Council of War, held some Days before, that *Cæsar's* Army would be defeated before the Infantry came to engage. And when some express'd their Surprise at this Speech; "I know," says he, that what I promise appears almost incredible: but hear the Reasons on which I ground my Confidence, that you may advance to Battle with the greater Assurance. I have persuaded the Cavalry, and obtained their Promise for the Performance, that as soon as the Armies are formed, they shall fall upon *Cæsar's* right Wing, which they will easily be able to out-flank and surround. This must infallibly occasion the immediate Rout of that Wing, and consequently of the rest of *Cæsar's* Troops, without Danger or Loss on our side. Nor will the Execution be attended with any Difficulty, as we are so much superior to them in Horse. Be ready therefore for Battle; and since the so much desired Opportunity of fighting is come, take care not to fall short of the good Opinion the World entertains of your Valour and Experience." *Labienus* spoke next; highly applauding this Scheme of *Pompey*, and expressing the greatest Contempt of *Cæsar's* Army: "Think not," says he, addressing himself to *Pompey*, "that these are the Legions which

“ which conquered *Gaul* and *Germany*. I was present  
 “ in all those Battles, and can of my own Knowledge  
 “ affirm, that but a very small Part of that Army  
 “ now remains : great Numbers have been killed,  
 “ as must of necessity happen, in such a Variety of  
 “ Conflicts : many perished during the autumnal  
 “ Pestilence in *Apulia* : many are returned to their  
 “ own Habitations : and not a few were left behind  
 “ to guard *Italy*. Have you not heard, that the  
 “ Cohorts in Garrison at *Brundisium* are made up  
 “ of Invalids ? The Forces which you now behold,  
 “ are composed of new Levies raised in *Lombardy*,  
 “ and the Colonies beyond the *Po* : for the Vete-  
 “ rans, in whom consisted the main Strength of  
 “ the Army, perished all in the two Defeats at  
 “ *Dyrrhachium*.” Having finished this Speech, he  
 took an Oath, which he profered to all that were  
 present, never to return to Camp otherwise than  
 victorious. *Pompey* commended his Zeal, took the  
 Oath himself, and the rest followed his Example  
 without Hesitation. After these Engagements taken  
 publicly in Council, they all departed full of Joy  
 and Expectation ; considering themselves as already  
 victorious, and relying entirely on the Ability of  
 their General ; who, in an Affair of that Import-  
 ance, they were confident would promise nothing  
 without Assurance of Success.

LXXIII. WHEN *Cæsar* approached *Pompey's*  
 Camp, he found his Army drawn up in this man-  
 ner. In the left Wing were the two Legions deli-  
 vered by *Cæsar* at the Beginning of the Quarrel,  
 in consequence of a Decree of the Senate ; one of  
 which was called the first, the other the third Le-  
 gion : and here *Pompey* commanded in Person.  
*Scipio* was in the Center, with the Legions he had  
 brought out of *Syria*. The *Cilician* Legion, joined



BOOK III. to the *Spanish* Cohorts brought over by *Afranius*, formed the right Wing. These *Pompey* esteemed his best Troops, distributing the less expert between the Wings and the main Body. He had in all an hundred and ten Cohorts, amounting to five and forty thousand; besides two Cohorts of Volunteers, who had served under him in former Wars; and who, out of Affection to their old General, though their legal time was expired, flocked to his Standard on this Occasion, and were dispersed amongst the whole Army. His other seven Cohorts were left to guard the Camp and the adjoining Forts. As the *Enipeus*, a River with very steep Banks, covered his right Wing, he placed all his Horse, Slingers, and Archers in the left.

LXXIV. CÆSAR observing his ancient Custom, placed the tenth Legion in the right, and the ninth in the left Wing. As this last had been considerably weakened by the several Actions at *Dyrbachium*, he joined the eighth to it in such manner, that they formed as it were but one Legion, and had Orders mutually to relieve each other. His whole Army amounted to fourscore Cohorts, making in all twenty-two thousand Men; besides two Cohorts left to guard the Camp. *Domitius Calvinus* was in the Center, *Mark Antony* on the left, and *P. Sylla* on the right. *Cæsar* took his Post opposite to *Pompey*, at the Head of the tenth Legion. And as he had observ'd the Disposition of the Enemy contrived to out-flank his right Wing: to obviate that Inconvenience, he made a Draught of six Cohorts from his Rear-line, formed them into a separate Body, and opposed them to *Pompey's* Horse; instructing them in the Part they were to act; and admonishing them, that the Success of that Day would depend chiefly on their Courage. At the same



same time he charged the whole Army, and in particular the third Line, not to advance to Battle without Orders; which, when he saw it proper, he would give by making the usual Signal.

BOOK  
III.

LXXV. WHEN he was exhorting them to Battle, as military Custom required, and reminding them of the many Favours they had on all Occasions received at his Hands, he chiefly took care to observe; "That they had themselves been Witnesses of his earnest Endeavours after Peace; that he had employed *Vatinius* to solicit a Conference with *Labienus*, and sent *A. Clodius* to treat with *Scipio*; that he had pressed *Libo* in the warmest manner at *Oricum*, to grant him a safe Conduct for his Ambassadors: in a word, that he had left nothing unattempted to avoid wasting the Blood of his Soldiers, and to spare the Commonwealth the Loss of one of her Armies." After this Speech, observing his Soldiers ardent for the Fight, he ordered the Trumpets to sound a Charge. Among the Volunteers in *Cæsar's* Army was one *Crastinus*, a Man of distinguished Courage, who the Year before had been first Centurion of the tenth Legion. This brave Officer, as soon as the Signal was given, calling to those next him: "Follow me, said he, you that were formerly under my Command, and acquit yourselves of the Duty you owe to your General. This one Battle more will crown the Work, by restoring him to his proper Dignity, and us to the Enjoyment of our Freedom." At the same time turning to *Cæsar*, "General, says he, this Day you shall be satisfied with my Behaviour, and whether I live or die, I will take care to deserve your Commendations." So saying, he marched up to the

BOOK III. Enemy, and began the Attack at the head of a hundred and twenty Volunteers.

LXXVI. BETWEEN the two Armies there was an interval sufficient for the Onset : but *Pompey* had given his Troops Orders to keep their Ground, that *Cæsar's* Army might have all that Way to come. This he is said to have done by the Advice of *C. Triarius*, that the Enemy's Ranks might be broken, and themselves put out of Breath, by having so far to run ; of which Disorder he hoped to make an Advantage. He was besides of Opinion, that our Javelins would have less Effect, by the Troops continuing in their Post, than if they sprung forward at the very time they were lanced ; and as the Soldiers would have twice as far to run as usual, they must be weary and breathless by that time they came up with the first Line. But herein *Pompey* seems to have acted without sufficient Reason ; because there is a certain Alacrity and Ardor of Mind, naturally planted in every Man, which is inflamed by the desire of fighting ; and which an able General, far from endeavouring to repress, will by all the Methods he can devise, foment and cherish. Nor was it a vain Institution of our Ancestors, that the Trumpets should sound on every side, and the whole Army raise a Shout, in order to animate the Courage of their own Men, and strike Terror into the Enemy. *Cæsar's* Soldiers entirely defeated *Pompey's* Hopes by their good Discipline and Experience. For perceiving the Enemy did not stir, they halted of their own accord in the midst of their Career ; and having taken a moment's Breath, put themselves a second time in Motion, marched up in good Order, flung their Javelins, and then betook themselves to their Swords. Nor did *Pompey's* Men act with less presence of Mind :  
for

for they sustained our Attack, kept their Ranks, bore the discharge of our Darts; and having lanced their own, immediately had recourse to their Swords. At this Instant *Pompey's* Horse, accompanied by the Archers and Slingers, attacked *Cæsar's*; and having compelled them to give ground, began to extend themselves to the left, in order to flank the Infantry. Whereupon *Cæsar* gave the appointed Signal to the six Cohorts, who fell on the Enemy's Horse with such Fury, that they not only drove them from the Field of Battle, but even compelled them to seek refuge in the highest Mountains. The Archers and Slingers, deprived of their Protection, were soon after cut to pieces. Mean-while the six Cohorts, not content with this Success, wheeled round upon the Enemy's left Wing, and began to charge it in the rear: whereupon *Cæsar*, perceiving the Victory so far advanced, to compleat it, brought up his third Line, which till then had not engaged. *Pompey's* Infantry being thus doubly attacked, in front by fresh Troops, and in rear by the victorious Cohorts, could no longer resist, but fled to their Camp. Nor was *Cæsar* mistaken in his Conjecture, when in exhorting his Men, he declared that Victory would depend chiefly on the six Cohorts, which formed the Body of Reserve, and were stationed to oppose the Enemy's Horse: for by them were their Cavalry defeated, their Archers and Slingers cut to pieces, and their left Wing surrounded and forced to fly.

LXXVII. POMPEY seeing his Cavalry routed, and that part of the Army on which he chiefly depended put into disorder, despaired of being able to restore the Battle, and quitted the Field. Repairing immediately to his Camp, he said aloud to the Centurions who guarded the Prætorian Gate,



BOOK III. so as all the Soldiers might hear him: "Take  
 III. "care of the Camp, and defend it vigorously in  
 { "case of an Attack. I go to visit the other Gates,  
 "and give Orders for their Defence." This said,  
 he retired to his Tent, despairing of Success, yet  
 waiting the Event. *Cæsar* having forced the *Pompeians*  
 to seek refuge in their Camp, and not willing to allow  
 them time to recover from their Consternation, exhorted  
 his Troops to make the best of their present Victory,  
 and vigorously attack the Enemy's Entrenchments.  
 Tho' the Battle had lasted till Noon, the Weather  
 being extremely hot; yet prepared to encounter all  
 Difficulties, they cheerfully complied with his Orders.  
 The Camp was bravely defended for some time by  
 the Cohorts left to guard it; and particularly by a  
 great Number of *Thracians*, and other Barbarians,  
 who made a very stout Resistance: for as to such  
 Troops as had there sought refuge from the Field of  
 Battle, they were in too great a Consternation to  
 think of any thing more than a safe Retreat. It was  
 not however possible for the Troops posted on the  
 Rampart, long to stand the multitude of Darts  
 continually poured upon them; which in the end  
 obliged them to retire covered with Wounds, and  
 under the Conduct of their Tribunes and Centurions,  
 seek shelter in the Mountains adjoining to the Camp.

LXXVIII. On entering *Pompey's* Camp, we found  
 Tables ready covered, Side-boards loaded with Plate,  
 and Tents adorned with Branches of Myrtle; that of  
*L. Lentulus*, with some others, was shaded with Ivy.  
 Every thing gave Proofs of the highest Luxury, and  
 an assured expectation of Victory; whence it was easy  
 to see, that they little dreamt of the Issue of that  
 Day, since intent only on voluptuous Refinements,  
 they pretended, with  
 Troops



Troops immerſed in Luxury, to oppoſe *Cæſar's* BOOK  
 Army, accuſtomed to Fatigue, and inured to the III.  
 Want of Neceſſaries. }

LXXIX. POMPEY finding our Men had forced his Intrenchments, mounted his Horſe, quitted his Armour for a Habit more ſuitable to his ill Fortune, and withdrawing by the *Decuman* Port, rode full ſpeed to *Lariſſa*. Nor did he ſtop there; but continuing his Flight Day and Night without Intermiſſion, he arrived at the Sea-side with thirty Horſe, and went on board a little Bark; often complaining, “ That he had been ſo far deceived in his Opinion  
 “ of his Followers, as to ſee thoſe very Men from  
 “ whom he expected Victory, the firſt to fly, and  
 “ in a manner betray him into the Hands of his  
 “ Enemies.”

LXXX. CÆSAR having maſtered the Enemy's Camp, requested his Soldiers not to leave the Victory imperfect, by buſying themſelves about the Plunder. Finding them ready to obey, he began a Line of Circumvallation round the Mountain. The *Pompeians* quickly abandoned a Poſt, which, for want of Water, was not tenable, and endeavoured to reach the City of *Lariſſa*: whereupon *Cæſar*, dividing his Army, left one part in *Pompey's* Camp, ſent back another to his own Camp, and having with four Legions taken a nearer Road than that by which the Enemy paſſed, he found means to intercept them, and after ſix Miles March drew up in order of Battle. But the *Pompeians* once more found Protection from a Mountain, at the foot of which ran a Rivulet. Tho' *Cæſar's* Troops were greatly fatigued by fighting the whole Day, before Night he had flung up ſome Works, ſufficient to prevent the Enemy from having any Communica-

BOOK III. tion with the Rivulet. As by this Step they were cut off from all Hopes of Relief, or of escaping, they sent Deputies to treat about a Surrender. Affairs continued in this Situation all that Night, of which some few Senators, who had accompanied them, took the advantage to make their Escape. At break of Day they all, by *Cæsar's* Order, came down into the Plain, and delivered up their Arms; humbly imploring his Goodness, and suing for Mercy. *Cæsar* spoke to them with great mildness, and to alleviate their Apprehensions, cited various Instances of his Clemency, which he had on so many Occasions made evident. In fact, he gave them their Lives, and forbid his Soldiers to offer them any Violence, or to take any thing from them. He then sent for the Legions which had passed the Night in Camp, to relieve those that had accompanied him in the Pursuit; and being determined to follow *Pompey*, began his March, and arrived the same Day at *Larissa*.

LXXXI. THIS Battle cost *Cæsar* no more than two hundred Soldiers: but he lost thirty Centurions, Men of singular Courage. Among these latter was *Craſſinus*, whose Gallantry and Intrepidity, in marching up to Battle, has been taken notice of. This brave Officer, fighting regardless of Danger, received a Wound in the Mouth from a Sword, Nor was he deceived in promising himself *Cæsar's* Approbation, who was thoroughly sensible of his Merit, and greatly applauded his Behaviour in this Action. On *Pompey's* side there fell about fifteen thousand: but upwards of four and twenty thousand were taken Prisoners: for the Cohorts that guarded the Forts surrendered to *Sylla*; tho' many escaped into the adjacent Countries. One hundred and eighty Colours were taken, and nine Eagles.

L. Do-

*L. Domitius* flying towards the Mountains, and growing faint thro' the Fatigue, was overtaken and killed by some Horsemen.

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III.

LXXXII. ABOUT this time *D. Lælius* arrived with his Fleet at *Brundisium*, and possessed himself of the Island over-against the Harbour, as *Libo* had done before. *Vatinius*, who commanded in the Place, having equipped several Boats, endeavoured to entice some of *Lælius's* Ships within the Haven, and took a five-benched Galley, with two smaller Vessels, that had ventured too far into the Port: then disposing his Cavalry along the Shore, he prevented the Enemy from getting fresh Water. But *Lælius* having chosen a more convenient Season of the Year for sailing, brought Water in Transports from *Corcyra* and *Dyrrbachium*; still keeping to his Purpose; from which neither the Disgrace of losing his Ships, nor the want of Necessaries could divert him, 'till he received Intelligence of the Battle of *Pharsalia*.

LXXXIII. MUCH about the same time *Cassius* arrived in *Sicily*, with the *Syrian*, *Phœnician*, and *Cilician* Fleets. And as *Cæsar's* Fleet was divided into two Parts, in one of which *P. Sulpicius* the Prætor commanded at *Vibo* in the Straits; in the other *M. Pomponius* at *Messana*: *Cassius* was arrived at *Messana* with his Fleet before *Pomponius* had notice of his coming. And finding him unprepared, without Guards, Order, or Discipline, he took the Opportunity of a favourable Wind, and sent several Fire-ships against him, which consumed his whole Fleet, thirty-five in Number, twenty of which were decked. The Terror occasioned by this Blow was so great, that tho' there was an entire Legion in Garrison at *Messana*, they durst scarce look

BOOK look the Enemy in the Face ; and would doubtless  
 III. have delivered up the Town, had not the News of  
 { *Cæsar's* Victory reached them, by means of the Cavalry stationed along the Coast. *Cassius* then sailed for *Sulpicius's* Fleet at *Vibo* ; which finding at Anchor, near the Shore, by reason the Consternation was become general over the whole Island ; he put the same Stratagem in practice as before. For taking the advantage of a favourable Wind, he made forty Fire-ships advance against them, and the Flame catching hold on both sides, quickly reduced five Gallies to Ashes. The Conflagration continuing to spread, roused the Indignation of some veteran Soldiers, who had been left to guard the Ships. Accordingly they went on board, weighed Anchor, and attacking the Enemy, took two Quinqueremes, in one of which was *Cassius* himself ; but he escaped in a Boat. Two three-benched Gallies were sunk : and soon after he was informed of the Defeat at *Pharsalia*, by some of *Pompey's* own Followers ; for hitherto he had regarded it as a false Report, spread abroad by *Cæsar's* Lieutenants and Friends. Upon this Intelligence he quitted *Sicily*, and retired with his Fleet.

LXXXIV. CÆSAR laying all other Thoughts aside ; determined to pursue *Pompey*, whithersoever he should retire, to prevent his drawing together fresh Forces, and renewing the War. He marched every Day as far as the Body of Cavalry he had with him could hold out, and was followed by shorter Marches by a single Legion. *Pompey* had issued a Proclamation at *Amphipolis*, enjoining all the Youth of the Province, whether *Greeks* or *Romans*, to join him in Arms. But whether this was with intent to conceal his real Design of retreating much farther, or to try to maintain his Ground in *Macedonia*,



*donia*, if no body pursued him, is hard to determine. Here he lay one Night at Anchor, sending to what Friends he had in the Town, and raising all the Money he possibly could. But being informed of *Cæsar's* Approach, he departed with all Expedition, and came in a few Days to *Mitylene*. Here he was detained two Days by the badness of the Weather; and having increased his Fleet with a few Gallies, sailed to *Cilicia*, and thence to *Cyprus*. There he was informed, that the *Antiochians*, and *Roman* Citizens trading thither, had with joint consent seized the Castle, and sent Deputies to such of his Followers as had taken refuge in the neighbouring States, not to come near *Antioch* at their Peril. The same had happened at *Rhodes* to *L. Lentulus* the Consul of the foregoing Year, to *P. Lentulus* a consular Senator, and to some other Persons of Distinction; who following *Pompey* in his Flight, and arriving at that Island, were refused admittance into the Town and Harbour, and received an Order to withdraw immediately, which they were necessitated to comply with; for the fame of *Cæsar's* Approach had now reached the neighbouring States.

LXXXV. UPON this Intelligence *Pompey* laid aside his design of going into *Syria*, seized all the Money he found in the publick Bank, borrowed as much more as he could of his Friends, sent great Quantities of Brass on board for military Uses: and having raised two thousand Soldiers, amongst the publick Officers, Merchants, and his own Servants, sailed for *Pelusium*. Here, by accident, was King *Ptolemy*, a Minor, warring with a great Army against his Sister *Cleopatra*; whom, some Months before, by the Assistance of his Friends, he had expelled the Kingdom, and was then encamped not far

BOOK far distant from her. *Pompey* sent to demand his

III. Protection, and a safe Retreat in *Alexandria*, in consideration of the Friendship that had subsisted between him and his Father. The Messengers, after discharging their Commission, began to converse freely with the King's Troops, exhorting them to assist *Pompey*, and not despise him in his adverse Fortune. Among these Troops were many of *Pompey's* old Soldiers, whom *Gabinus* having draughted out of the *Syrian* Army, had carried to *Alexandria*, and, upon the conclusion of the War, left there with the young King's Father. The King's Ministers, who had the care of the Government during his Minority, being informed of this: either out of Fear, as they afterwards pretended, lest *Pompey* should debauch the Army, and thereby render himself master of *Alexandria* and *Egypt*; or despising his low Condition, (as Friends in bad Fortune, often turn Enemies,) spoke favourably to the Deputies in publick, and invited *Pompey* to Court: but privately dispatched *Achillas*, Captain of the King's Guards, a Man of singular Boldness, and *L. Septimius*, a military Tribune, with Orders to murder him. They accosted him with an Air of Frankness, especially *Septimius*, who had served under him as a Centurion in the War with the Pirates; and inviting him into the Boat, treacherously slew him. *L. Lentulus* was likewise seized by the King's Command, and put to death in Prison.

LXXXVI. WHEN *Cæsar* arrived in *Asia*, he found that *T. Ampius*, having formed the design of seizing the Treasures of the *Epbesian Diana*, and summoned all the Senators in the Province to bear witness to the Sum taken, had quitted that Project upon *Cæsar's* Approach, and betaken himself to Flight. Thus was the Temple of *Epbesus* a second time

time saved from Plunder by *Cæsar*. It was remarked in the Temple of *Minerva* at *Elis*, that the very Day *Cæsar* gained the Battle of *Pharsalia*, the Image of Victory, which before stood fronting the Statue of the Goddess, turned towards the Portal of the Temple. The same Day, at *Antioch* in *Syria*, such a noise of fighting and Trumpets was heard two several times, that the Inhabitants ran to Arms, and manned their Walls. The like happened at *Ptolemais*. At *Pergamus*, in the inner recesses of the Temple, called by the *Greeks* *Adyta*, where none but Priests are allowed to enter, the sound of Cymbals was heard. And in the Temple of Victory at *Trallis*, where a Statue was consecrated to *Cæsar*, a Palm sprouted between the joining of the Stones that arched the Roof.

LXXXVII. *CÆSAR*, after a short stay in *Asia*, hearing that *Pompey* had been seen at *Cyprus*, and thence conjecturing that he was gone for *Egypt*, because of the Interest he had in that Kingdom, and the Advantages it would afford him; left *Rhodes*, with a Convoy of ten *Rhodian* Gallies, and a few others from *Asia*, having on board two Legions, one of which he had ordered to follow him from *Thessaly*, the other detached from *Fufius's* Army in *Achaia*, and eight hundred Horse. In these Legions were no more than three thousand two hundred Men: the rest, fatigued with the length of the March, or weakened with Wounds, had not been able to follow him. But *Cæsar* depending on the Reputation of his former Exploits, scrupled not to trust the safety of his Person to a feeble Escort, believing no Place would dare to attempt any thing against him. At *Alexandria* he was informed of *Pompey's* Death: and upon landing, was accosted in a clamorous manner by the Soldiers, whom

*Ptolemy*



BOOK III. *Ptolemy* had left to garrison the City : and he observed that the Mob appeared dissatisfied to see the Fasces carried before him, which they interpreted a Degradation of the Sovereign Authority. Tho' this Tumult was appeased, yet each Day produced some fresh Disturbance, and many of the *Roman* Soldiers were murdered in all Parts of the City.

LXXXVIII. For these Reasons he sent into *Asia* for some of the Legions which he had raised out of the Remains of *Pompey's* Army ; being himself necessarily detained by the *Etesian* Winds, which are directly contrary to any Passage by Sea from *Alexandria*. Mean-time considering the Difference between *Ptolemy* and his Sister, as subject to the Cognisance of the *Roman* People, and of him as Consul ; and the rather, because the Alliance with *Ptolemy* the Father had been contracted during his former Consulship ; he gave the King and *Cleopatra* to understand, that it was his Pleasure they should dismiss their Troops, and instead of having recourse to Arms, come and plead their Cause before him.

LXXXIX. POTHINUS the Eunuch, Governor to the young King, had the chief Management of Affairs during his Minority. This Minister complained bitterly to his Friends, that the King should be summoned to plead his Cause before *Cæsar* : afterwards finding among those that sided with the King, some who were disposed to enter into his Views, he privately sent for the Army from *Pelusium* to *Alexandria*, and conferred the chief Command upon *Achillas*, the same we have spoken of before ; inciting him by Letters and Promises, both in the King's Name and his own, to execute such Orders as he should receive from him. *Ptolemy* the Father,  
by



by his Will, had appointed the eldest of his two BOOK  
Sons, and his elder Daughter, joint Heirs of the III.  
Kingdom. For the more certain Accomplishment  
of his Design, he in the same Will implored the  
Protection of the *Roman* People; adjuring them by  
all the Gods, and the Treaties he had made at *Rome*,  
to see it put in execution. A Copy of this Will  
was sent by Ambassadors to *Rome*, to be deposited  
in the publick Treasury; but the domestick Trou-  
bles preventing it, it was left in the hands of *Pom-*  
*pey*. The Original, signed and sealed, was kept  
at *Alexandria*.

XC. WHILE this Affair was debated before  
*Cæsar*, who passionately desired to terminate the  
Matter amicably, and to the Satisfaction of both  
Parties; he was informed that the King's Army,  
with all the Cavalry, were arrived at *Alexandria*.  
*Cæsar's* Forces were by no means sufficient to give  
Battle without the Town; and therefore the only  
Course left was, to secure the most convenient  
Posts within the City, 'till he should get acquaint-  
ed with *Achillas's* Designs. Mean-time he ordered  
all the Soldiers to their Arms, and admonished the  
King, to send some Persons of the greatest Autho-  
rity to *Achillas*, to forbid his Approach. *Discorides*  
and *Serapion*, who had both been Ambassadors at  
*Rome*, and in great Credit with *Ptolemy* the Father,  
were deputed to this Office. But no sooner did they  
come before *Achillas*, than without giving them a  
hearing, or enquiring after the Message they  
brought, he ordered them to be seized and put to  
death. One was killed upon the spot; and the  
other having received a dangerous Wound, was  
carried off for dead by his Attendants. Upon  
hearing this, *Cæsar* took care to secure the King's  
Person, the Authority of whose Name would au-  
thorize

BOOK authorize his Proceedings, and occasion *Achillas* and  
 III. his Associates, to be esteemed seditious and rebel-  
 lious.

XCI. *ACHILLAS*'s Army was far from being contemptible, whether we regard their Number, Courage, or Experience in War. It amounted to twenty thousand effective Men, many of whom were originally *Romans*, brought into the Country by *Gabinus*, when he came to settle *Auletes* on the Throne; and who having afterwards married and settled in *Alexandria*, were devoted to the *Ptolemean* Interest. There were also some Brigades raised in *Syria* and *Cilicia*, together with a considerable number of renegade Slaves, who had deserted their Masters, and found Protection in *Egypt*, by entering into the Service. If any of these was seized by his Master, their Companions flocked to his rescue, regarding his Safety as a common Cause, because they were all embarked in the like Guilt. These would often take upon them to put to death the King's Ministers, to plunder the rich, for the sake of increasing their Pay, to invest the royal Palace, to banish some, and send for others home, with other Liberties of the like nature, which the *Alexandrian* Army claims by a kind of Prescription. Besides these, he had likewise two thousand Horse, who, during the late Troubles, and the Wars that ensued, had had Opportunities of inuring themselves to Arms. These had restored *Ptolemy* the Father to his Kingdom, killed *Bibulus*'s two Sons, warred against the *Egyptians* with success, and acquired a thorough Experience in military Affairs.

XCH. *ACHILLAS* trusting to the Valour of his Troops, and despising the handful of Men that followed *Cæsar*, quickly made himself Master of  
*Alexandria*,

*Alexandria*, the Palace only excepted, where *Cæsar* BOOK III. thought proper to make his stand, and which he attacked briskly, tho' without effect. But it was on the side of the Harbour that the greatest Efforts were made. On that, in effect, the Victory depended. Besides two and twenty constant Guardships, there were in the Port fifty Gallies, from three to five Banks of Oars, which the Year before had been sent to *Pompey's* Assistance, and were returned since the Battle of *Pharsalia*. Had *Achillas* been once Master of these Vessels, he might have cut *Cæsar* off from all Communication with the Ocean, and consequently from all Hopes of receiving Supplies of Victuals or Forces. Thus the *Egyptians* in hopes of a compleat Victory, and the *Romans* to avoid a certain Ruin, exerted themselves with incredible Vigour. At length *Cæsar* carried his Point, and not only set fire to the Vessels above-mentioned, but to all that were in the Arsenals; after which he passed some Troops into the Isle of *Pharos*.

XCI. THE *Pharos* is a Tower of prodigious Height, and wonderful Workmanship, built in an Island from whence it takes its Name. This Island lying over-against *Alexandria*, makes a Haven; and is joined to the Continent by a Causeway of nine hundred Paces, and by a Bridge. Here dwell several *Egyptians*, who have built a Town, and live by pillaging the Ships that are thrown up on their Coast, either by Mistake or Tempest. As it is situate at the Entrance of the Port, which is but narrow, it absolutely commands it. *Cæsar* knowing the Importance of this Post, whilst the Enemy were engaged in the Assault, landed some Troops there, seized the Tower, and put a Garrison into it; thereby securing a safe Reception for



**BOOK** the Supplies he had sent for on all sides. In the  
 III. other Quarters of the Town, the Fight was main-  
 tained with equal Advantage, neither Party losing  
 Ground, because of the narrowness of the Passes,  
 which enabled them easily to support themselves.  
 After a few Men killed on both sides, *Cæsar* having  
 secured the most necessary Places, fortified them in  
 the Night. In this Quarter was a small part of the  
 King's Palace, where *Cæsar* was lodged upon his  
 first Arrival; and adjoining thereto a Theatre, that  
 served instead of a Citadel, and had a Communi-  
 cation with the Port and other Arsenals. These  
 Works he increased afterwards, that they might  
 serve instead of a Rampart, to prevent his being  
 obliged to fight against his will. Mean-time *Pto-*  
*lemy's* youngest Daughter, hoping the Throne  
 would be vacant, fled from the Palace to *Achillas*,  
 and joined with him in the prosecution of the War.  
 But they soon disagreed about the Command,  
 which increased the Largeesses to the Soldiers, each  
 Party endeavouring to gain them by large Presents.  
 During these Transactions, *Pothinus*, *Ptolemy's* Go-  
 vernor, and Regent of the Kingdom, being dis-  
 covered in a clandestine Correspondence with *Achil-*  
*lais*, whom he encouraged to the vigorous Prose-  
 cution of his Enterprize, *Cæsar* ordered him to be  
 put to death. Such was the Commencement of the  
*Alexandrian War.*



BOOK III  
other Quarters of the Town, the Right was main-  
tained with equal Advantage, neither Party losing  
Ground, because of the narrowness of the Passes.  
After a long time killed on both sides, Cæsar having  
secured the most necessary Places, ordered them to  
be fortified with a Wall, and adjoining thereto a Pile of  
timber, raised up a Citadel, and had a Continuan-  
ce of Cannon with the Artillery. These Works he  
ordered to be finished afterwards, that they might  
be ready in case of a Siege, to prevent his being  
obliged to retreat. His youngest Daughter, hoping the  
King would be rescued from the Palace to which  
and joined with him in the prosecution of the War.  
But they soon disagreed about the Command,  
which increased the Parties to the Soldiers, each  
Party endeavouring to gain them by large Pre-  
sents. During these Transactions, Ptolemy's Co-  
vernor, and Regent of the Kingdom, being dis-  
covered in a clandestine Correspondence with Alex-  
andria, who ordered him to be

**A. HIRTIUS PANSA'S**  
**COMMENTARIES**  
**OF THE**  
**ALEXANDRIAN WAR.**

**THE ARGUMENT.**

**I.** Cæsar prepares for War. **II.** As likewise the Alex-  
andrians. **III.** Arsinoë, Ptolemy's Daughter, possesses  
herself of the supreme Authority. **IV.** Scheme of the Alex-  
andrians to deprive the Romans of Water. **V.** Cæsar's  
Speech to his Soldiers. They fall to digging of Wells, and  
thereby find Water. **VI.** Cæsar having brought his Trans-  
ports to Alexandria, has the advantage in several naval  
Encounters. **XIII.** And afterwards makes himself master  
of some Forts that commanded the Port. **XIV.** But at-  
tempting some others is repulsed and narrowly escapes by  
swimming. **XV.** Which loss serves only the more to animate  
his Soldiers. **XVI.** Cæsar, at the request of the Alexan-  
drians, sends them their King Ptolemy, who immediately

## THE ARGUMENT.

becomes his Enemy. XVII. Cæsar's Fleet has the disadvantage in an Engagement. XVIII. Mithridates, Cæsar's Friend, having made himself master of Pelusium, advances towards Alexandria at the head of a great Body of Troops. XIX. The King's Forces, endeavouring to oppose him, are repulsed with loss. XX. Cæsar marching to the assistance of Mithridates, and Ptolemy at the same time to reinforce his Troops, they come to a Battle, with all their Forces, in which the King is entirely defeated. XXII. Cæsar storms the Enemy's Camp; and the King himself endeavouring to make his Escape, is drowned. XXIII. Cæsar admitting the Alexandrians to a Surrender, restores Tranquillity to Egypt. XXIV. And settles the Kingdom upon Cleopatra and her Brother. XXV. Mean-time Domitius Calvinus, one of Cæsar's Generals, loses a Battle against Pharnaces in Armenia the lesser. XXXII. At the same time Gabinius receives a considerable Check in Illyricum, which had been gallantly defended by Q. Cornificius. XXXIV. But this loss is afterwards repaired by the Bravery of Vatinius, who recovers Illyricum to the Obedience of Cæsar. XXXVIII. About the same time Commotions arise in Spain, occasioned by the Extortions of Cassius Longinus. XLII. Cassius is wounded by the Conspirators. XLIII. After which he behaves still more tyrannically. XLIV. Whence new Disturbances arise. L. Which are appeased at last, by the Arrival of Lepidus, and the Death of Cassius. LII. Cæsar restores his Affairs in Syria. LIII. As likewise in Cilicia and Cappadocia. LIV. And in Gallogræcia. LV. He afterwards treats of Peace with Pharnaces in Pontus. LVI. And finding him not faithful to his Engagements, resolves to make War upon him. LIX. Pharnaces rashly hazarding a Battle, is totally routed, and his Army cut to pieces. LXII. Pontus being thus speedily recovered, and Tranquillity restored to all the Asiatick Provinces, Cæsar returns to Italy.

*A. HIRTIUS PANSA's*  
**COMMENTARIES**  
 OF THE  
*ALEXANDRIAN WAR.*

**T**HE War thus commencing at *Alexandria*, *Cæsar* sent to *Rhodes*, *Syria*, and *Cilicia*, for his Fleet; to *Crete*, for Archers; and to *Malchus*, King of the *Nabatheans*, for Cavalry. He likewise ordered military Engines to be provided, Corn to be brought, and Forces dispatched to him with all Diligence. Mean-while he was daily employed in augmenting his Works; and such Parts of the Town as appeared less tenable, were strengthened with Tortoises and Mantelets. Openings were made in the Walls, through which the battering Rams might play; and whatever Houses were thrown down, or taken by Force, were brought within the Intrenchments. For *Alexandria* is in a manner secure from Fire, because the Inhabitants use no Wood in their Buildings, the Houses being all vaulted, and roofed with Tile or Pavement. *Cæsar's* principal Aim was, to inclose with Works the smallest Part of the Town, separated from the rest by a Morass towards

the South. For thus the Army would lie closer together, be subject to one Command, and could readily dispatch Relief where it was most wanted. Above all, he by this means made sure of Water and Forage; which was of so much the more consequence, as he was but ill provided of the one, and wholly destitute of the other. The Morass, on the contrary, served abundantly to supply him with both,

II. NOR were the *Alexandrians* remiss on their side, or less active in the Conduct of their Affairs. They had sent Deputies and Commissioners into all Parts, where the Power and Territories of *Egypt* extend, with Orders to levy Troops. They had carried vast Quantities of Darts and Engines into the Town, and drawn together an innumerable Multitude of Soldiers. Yet not contented with all these Preparations, they established Work-shops in every Part of the City, for the making of Arms; and insisted all the Slaves that were of Age, the richer Citizens paying and maintaining them. With these they guarded the remoter Parts of the Town; while the veteran Cohorts, exempt from all other Service, were quartered in the Squares and open Places; that on whatever side an Attack should be made, they might be at hand to give Relief, and march fresh and entire to the Charge. All the Avenues and Passes were shut up by a triple Wall, built of square Stones, and carried to the height of forty Feet. The lower Parts of the Town were defended by very high Towers of ten Stories: besides which, they had likewise contrived a kind of moving Towers, which consisted of the same Number of Stories, and being fitted with Ropes and Wheels, could, by means of Horses, as the Streets of *Alexandria* were quite even and level, be conveyed



veyed wherever their Service was necessary. The City abounding in every thing, and being very rich, furnished ample Materials for these several Works; and as the People were extremely ingenious, and quick of Apprehension, they so well copied what they saw done by us, that our Men seemed rather to imitate them. They even invented many things themselves, and at once infested our Works, and defended their own. Their Chiefs every where represented: "That the People of *Rome* were endeavouring by degrees to steal into the Possession of *Egypt*: that a few Years before *Gabinus* had come thither with an Army: that *Pompey* had chosen it for the Place of his Retreat: that *Cæsar* was now among them with a considerable Body of Troops, and notwithstanding his Rival's Death, made no offers to return: that if they did not therefore find means to expel him, they would soon from a Kingdom be reduced to a *Roman* Province: that no time was to be lost in this Attempt; because the Season of the Year having put a Stop to Navigation, he could receive no Supplies from beyond Sea."

III. MEAN-WHILE a Division arising between *Achillas*, who commanded the veteran Army, and *Arfinoe*, the youngest Daughter of King *Ptolemy*, as has been demonstrated above: while they mutually endeavoured to supplant one another, each striving to ingross the supreme Authority; *Arfinoe*, by the Assistance of the Eunuch *Ganymed*, her Governor, at length prevailed, and caused *Achillas* to be slain. After his Death, being possessed of the whole Power without a Rival, she raised *Ganymed* to the Command of the Army; who, on his entrance into that high Office, augmented the Allowance of

the Troops, and with equal Diligence discharged all other Parts of his Duty.

IV. ALEXANDRIA is almost quite hollow underneath, occasioned by the many Aqueducts to the Nile, that furnish private Houses with Water; where being received in Cisterns, it settles by degrees, and becomes perfectly clear. This is preserved for the use of the Master and his Family: for the Water of the Nile being extremely thick and muddy, is apt to breed many Distempers. The common People, however, are forced to be contented with it, because there is not a single Spring in the whole City. The River was in that Part of the Town where the *Alexandrians* were Masters. Hence *Ganymed* conceived, that a way might be found to deprive the *Romans* of Water; because being distributed into several Streets, for the more easy Defence of the Works, they made use of that which was preserved in the Cisterns of private Houses. With this view he began a great and difficult Work: for having stopt up all the Canals by which his own Cisterns were supplied, he drew vast Quantities of Water out of the Sea, by the help of Wheels and other Engines, pouring it continually into the Canals of *Cesar's* Quarter. The Cisterns in the nearest Houses soon began to taste saltier than ordinary, and occasioned great wonder among the Men, who could not think from what Cause it proceeded. They were even ready to disbelieve their Senses, when those who were quartered a little lower in the Town assured them, that they found the Water the same as before. This put them upon comparing the Cisterns one with another, and by trial they easily perceived the Difference. But in a little time the Water in the nearest Houses became quite unfit for use, and that lower down grew daily

daily more tainted and brackish; upon which such a Terror ensued among the Troops, that they fancied themselves reduced to the last Extremity. Some complained of *Cæsar's* Delay, and that he did not order them immediately to repair to their Ships; Others dreaded a yet greater Misfortune, as it would be impossible to conceal their Design of retreating from the *Alexandrians*, who were so near them; and no less so to embark in the Face of a vigorous and pursuing Enemy. There were besides a great Number of the Townsmen in *Cæsar's* Quarter, whom he had not thought proper to force from their Houses, because they openly pretended to be in his Interest, and to have quitted the Party of their Fellow-citizens. But to offer here at a Defence either of the Sincerity or Conduct of these *Alexandrians*, would be only Labour in vain; since all who know the Genius and Temper of the People must be satisfied, that they are the fittest Instruments in the World for Treason,

V. *CÆSAR* laboured to remove his Soldiers Fears, by encouraging and reasoning the case with them. "They might easily," he told them, "find  
 " Water, by digging Wells, as all Sea-coasts naturally abounded with fresh Springs: that if  
 " *Egypt* was singular in this respect, and differed  
 " from every other Soil; yet still as the Sea was  
 " open, and the Enemy without a Fleet, there was  
 " nothing to hinder their fetching it at pleasure in  
 " their Ships, either from *Parætonium* on the left,  
 " or *Pharos* on the right; which two Places lying  
 " different ways, the Wind could never exclude  
 " them from both at the same time: that a Retreat  
 " was on no account to be thought of, not only by  
 " those who had a Concern for their Honour, but  
 " even by such as regarded nothing but Life: that  
 " it



" it was with the utmost difficulty they could de-  
 " fend themselves behind their Works; but if  
 " they once quitted that Advantage, neither in  
 " Number nor Situation would they be a match  
 " for the Enemy: that to embark would require  
 " much time, and be attended with great Danger,  
 " especially where it must be managed by little  
 " Boats: that the *Alexandrians* on the contrary  
 " were nimble and active, and thoroughly ac-  
 " quainted with the Streets and Buildings: that  
 " flushed with so manifest an Advantage, that they  
 " would not fail to run before, seize all the ad-  
 " vantageous Posts, possess themselves of the tops  
 " of the Houses, and by annoying them in their  
 " Retreat, effectually prevent their getting on  
 " board: that they might therefore think no more  
 " of retiring, but place all their hopes of safety in  
 " Victory." Having by this Speech re-assured his  
 Men, he ordered the Centurions to lay aside all  
 other Cares, and apply themselves Day and Night  
 to the digging of Wells. The Work once begun,  
 they pushed it on so vigorously, that the very first  
 Night abundance of fresh Water was found. Thus  
 with little Labour on our side, the mighty Projects  
 and painful Attempts of the *Alexandrians* were en-  
 tirely frustrated.

VI. DURING these Transactions, the thirty-se-  
 venth Legion, composed of *Pompey's* Veterans that  
 had surrendered to *Cæsar*, embarking by Order of  
*Domitius Calvinus*, with Arms, Darts, Provisions,  
 and military Engines, arrived upon the Coast of  
*Africa*, a little above *Alexandria*. An easterly  
 Wind, which continued to blow for several Days to-  
 gether, hindered their being able to gain the Port;  
 but all along that Coast, 'tis very safe riding at An-  
 chor. Being detained, however, longer than they  
 expected,



expected, and pressed with want of Water, they gave notice of it to *Cæsar* by a dispatch Sloop. *Cæsar*, that he might himself be able to determine what was best to be done, went on board one of the Ships in the Harbour, and ordered the whole Fleet to follow. He took none of the Land Forces with him, because he was unwilling to leave the Works unguarded during his absence. Being arrived at that part of the Coast known by the name of *Cherronefus*, he sent some Mariners on shore to fetch Water. Part of these venturing too far into the Country for the sake of Plunder, were intercepted by the Enemy's Horse. From them the *Egyptians* learnt, that *Cæsar* himself was on board, without any Soldiers. Upon this Information, they thought Fortune had thrown a fair Occasion in their way, of attempting something with Success. They therefore manned all the Ships that were in Condition to sail, and met *Cæsar* on his return. He declined fighting that Day for two Reasons; because he had no Soldiers on board; and it was past four in the Afternoon. The Night, he was sensible, must be highly advantageous to his Enemies, who were perfectly well acquainted with the Coast: and he would himself be deprived of the Benefit of encouraging his Men; which could not be done with any effect in the dark, where Courage and Cowardice must remain equally unknown. He therefore drew all his Ships towards the Shore, where he imagined the Enemy would not venture to follow him.

VII. THERE was one *Rhodian* Galley in *Cæsar's* right Wing, considerably distant from the rest. This being observed by the Enemy, they came forward with four decked Ships, and several open Barks, to attack her. *Cæsar* was obliged to advance to her Relief, that he might not suffer the Disgrace

Disgrace of seeing one of his Gallies sunk before his Eyes; tho', had he left her to perish, she seemed to deserve it for her rashness. The Attack was sustained with great Courage by the *Rhodians*; who, tho' at all times distinguished by their Valour and Experience in Engagements at Sea, yet exerted themselves in a particular manner on this Occasion, that they might not draw upon themselves the Charge of having occasioned a Misfortune to the Fleet. Accordingly they obtained a compleat Victory; took one four-benched Galley; sunk another, disabled a third, and slew all that were on board, besides a great number belonging to the other Ships. Nay, had not Night interposed, *Cæsar* would have made himself Master of their whole Fleet. During the Consternation that followed upon this Defeat, *Cæsar* finding the contrary Winds to abate, took the Transports in tow, and advanced with the victorious Fleet to *Alexandria*.

VIII. THE *Alexandrians* disheartened at this Loss, as finding themselves now worsted, not by the superior Valour of the Soldiers, but by the Skill and Ability of the Mariners, retired to the tops of their Houses, and blocked up the entrance of their Streets, as fearing our Fleet might attack them even by Land. But soon after, *Ganymed* assuring them in Council, that he would not only restore the Vessels they had lost, but even increase their Number; they began to repair their old Ships with great Expectation and Confidence, and resolved to apply more than ever to the putting their Fleet in a good condition. And altho' they had lost above an hundred and ten Ships in the Port and Arsenal, yet did not all this discourage them; because by making themselves Masters at Sea, they saw they would have it in their power to hinder *Cæsar's* receiving any

any Reinforcements, or Supplies. Besides, being naturally Mariners, born upon the Sea-coast, and exercised from their Infancy in naval Affairs, they were desirous to return to that wherein their true and proper Strength lay, remembering the Advantages they had formerly gained, even with their little Ships. They therefore applied themselves with all diligence to the equipping a Fleet.

IX. VESSELS were stationed at all the Mouths of the *Nile*, for receiving and gathering in the Customs. Several old Ships were likewise lodged in the King's private Arsenals, where they had remained unrigged for many Years. These last they refitted, and recalled the former to *Alexandria*. To supply themselves with Oars, they uncovered the Porticos, Academies, and publick Buildings, and made use of the Planks they furnished. Their natural Ingenuity, and the abundance of all things to be met with in the City, supplied every Want. In fine, they had no long Navigation to provide for, and were only solicitous about present Exigences, foreseeing they would have no occasion to fight but in the Port. In a few Days therefore, contrary to all expectation, they had fitted out twenty-two Quadriremes, and five Quinqueremes. To these they added a great number of small open Barks; and employing the Rowers in the Harbour, to practise and exercise themselves, put a sufficient number of Soldiers on board, and prepared every thing necessary for an Engagement. *Cesar* had nine *Rhodian* Gallies (for of the ten which were sent, one was shipwrecked on the Coast of *Egypt*;) eight from *Pontus*, five from *Lycia*, and twelve out of *Asia*. Of these ten were Quadriremes, and five Quinqueremes. The rest were of an inferior bulk, and for the most part without Decks. Yet trusting to  
the



the Valour of his Soldiers, and knowing the strength of the Enemy, he prepared for an Engagement.

X. WHEN both sides were come to have sufficient Confidence in their own Strength, *Cæsar* sailed round *Pharos*, and formed in line of Battle over-against the Enemy. The *Rhodian* Gallies were in his right Wing, and those of *Pontus* in his left. Between these he left a space of four hundred Paces, to serve for the extending and working the Vessels. This Disposition being made, he drew up the rest of the Fleet as a reserve, giving them the necessary Orders, and distributing them in such manner, that every Ship followed that to which she was appointed to give Succour. The *Alexandrians* came forth with great Confidence, and drew up their Fleet; placing their twenty-two *Quadrيرهmes* in front, and disposing the rest behind them in a second Line, by way of reserve. They had besides a great number of Boats and smaller Vessels, that carried Fire and combustible Weapons, with design to fright us by their Number, Cries, and flaming Darts. Between the two Fleets were certain Flats, separated by very narrow Channels, and which are said to be on the *African* Coast, as being in that division of *Alexandria* which belongs to *Africa*. Both sides waited which should first pass these Shallows, because whoever entered the narrow Channels between them, in case of any Misfortune, would find it very difficult either to retreat, or work the Ships to advantage.

XI. *EUPHRANOR* commanded the *Rhodian* Fleet, who for Valour and Greatness of Mind deserved rather to be ranked among the *Romans* than the *Grecians*. The *Rhodians* had raised him to the Post of Admiral,



miral, on account of his known Courage and Experience. He perceiving *Cæsar's* Design, addressed him to this effect: "You seem afraid of passing the Shallows first, lest you should be thereby forced to come to an Engagement, before the rest of the Fleet can be brought up. Leave the Matter to us; we will sustain the Fight, and I hope too without disappointing your Expectations, 'till the whole Fleet gets clear of the Shallows. It is both dishonourable and afflicting, that they should so long continue in our sight with an air of Triumph." *Cæsar* encouraging him in his Design, and bestowing many Praises upon him, gave the Signal for engaging. Four *Rhodian* Ships having passed the Shallows, the *Alexandrians* gathered round and attacked them. They maintained the Fight with great Bravery, disengaging themselves by their Art and Address, and working their Ships with so much Skill, that notwithstanding the inequality of Number, none of the Enemy were suffered to run along side, or break their Oars. Mean-time the rest of the Fleet came up; when on account of the narrowness of the Place, Art becoming useless, the Success depended wholly upon Valour. The *Alexandrians* and *Romans* who were in the Town, laying aside all thoughts of Attack and Defence, mounted the tops of the Houses, and all the Eminences that would give a view of the Fight, addressing the Gods by Vows and Prayers for Victory.

XII. THE event of the Battle was by no means equal. A Defeat would have deprived us of all resource either by Land or Sea; and even Victory itself would not much better our Condition. The *Alexandrians*, on the contrary, by a Victory, gained every thing; and if defeated, might yet again have

have recourse to Fortune. It was likewise a matter of the highest Concern, to see the Safety of all depend upon the Bravery of a few, whose want of Courage would expose their whole Party to Destruction. This *Cæsar* had often represented to his Troops during the preceding Days, that they might be thereby induced to fight with the more Resolution, when they knew the common Safety to depend upon their Bravery. Every Man said the same to his Comrade, Companion, and Friend, requesting him not to disappoint the Expectation of those who had chosen him preferably to others for the defence of the common Interest. Accordingly they fought with so much Resolution, that neither the Art nor Address of the *Egyptians*, a maritime and seafaring People, could stand them in any stead; nor the multitude of their Ships be of service to them; nor the Valour of those selected for this Engagement, stand in competition with the determined Courage of the *Romans*. In this Action a Quinquereme was taken, and a Bireme with all the Soldiers and Mariners on board, besides three sunk, without any loss on our side. The rest fled towards the Town, sheltering themselves under the Mole and Forts, whither we durst not pursue them.

XIII. To deprive the Enemy of this resource for the future, *Cæsar* thought it by all means necessary, to render himself Master of the Mole and Island: for having already in great measure completed his Works within the Town, he was in hopes of being able to defend himself both in the Island and City. This Resolution being taken, he put into Boats and small Vessels ten Cohorts, a select Body of light-armed Infantry, and such of the *Gallick* Cavalry as he thought most for his Purpose, and sent them against the Island; whilst at the same time,

time, to occasion a Diversion, he attacked it on the other with his Fleet, promising great Rewards to those who should first render themselves masters of it. At first, the Attack was brisk, and the Defence vigorous: for they both annoyed our Men from the tops of the Houses, and gallantly maintained their Ground along the Shore; which being steep and craggy, our Men could find no way of approach; all the more accessible Avenues being skilfully defended by small Boats, and five Gallies, properly stationed for that purpose. But when after examining the Approaches, and sounding the Shallows, a few of our Men got upon the Shore, and were followed by others, who pushed the Islanders without intermission; the *Pharians* at last betook themselves to flight. Upon this, abandoning the defence of the Port, they quitted their Ships, and retired into the Town, to provide for the security of their Houses. But they could not long maintain their Ground there: tho', to compare small things with great, their Buildings resembled those of *Alexandria*, and their Towers were high, and joined together so as to form a kind of Wall; and our Men had neither Ladders, Fascines, nor any Weapons for Assault. But Fear often deprives Men of Counsel and Strength, as happened upon this Occasion. Those who had ventured to oppose us on even Ground, terrified by the loss of a few Men, and the general Rout; durst not face us from a height of thirty Foot; but throwing themselves from the Mole into the Sea, endeavoured to gain the Town, tho' above eight hundred Paces distant. Many however were slain, and about six hundred taken.

XIV. CÆSAR giving up the Plunder to the Soldiers, ordered the Houses to be demolished;  
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but fortified the Castle at the end of the Bridge next the Island, and placed a Garrison in it. This the *Pharians* had abandoned: but the other, towards the Town, which was considerably stronger, was still held by the *Alexandrians*. *Cæsar* attacked it next Day: because by getting possession of these two Forts, he would be entirely master of the Port, and prevent sudden Excursions and Piracies. Already he had, by means of his Arrows and Engines, forced the Garrison to abandon the Place, and retire towards the Town. He had also landed three Cohorts, which was all the Place would contain; and disposed the rest of his Troops abroad to sustain them. He then fortified the Bridge on the side of the Enemy, built an Arch across the entrance of the Port, and filled it up in such a manner with Stones, that not the smallest Boat could pass. When the Work was almost finished, the *Alexandrians* sallied in Crowds from the Town, and drew up in an open Place, over-against the Intrenchment we had cast up at the head of the Bridge. At the same time the Vessels, which they had been wont to make pass under the Bridge, to set fire to our Ships of Burden, were ranged along the Mole. Our Men fought from the Bridge and the Mole; the Enemy from the Area over-against the Bridge, and from their Ships by the side of the Mole. While *Cæsar*, attentive to what passed, was exhorting his Troops; a number of Rowers and Mariners quitting their Ships, threw themselves upon the Mole; partly out of curiosity, partly to have a share in the Action. At first, with Stones and Slings they forced the Enemy's Ships from the Mole; and seemed to do still greater Execution with their Darts. But when some time after, a few *Alexandrians* found means to land, and attack them in flank; as they had left their Ships without Order or Discipline,



Discipline, so they soon began to fly with precipitation. The *Alexandrians* encouraged by this Success, landed in greater Numbers, and vigorously pushed our Men, who were by this time in great confusion. Those that remained in the Gallies perceiving this, drew up the Ladders, and put off from the Shore, to prevent the Enemies boarding them. The three Cohorts, who were at the head of the Mole, to guard the Bridge, astonished at this Disorder, the Cries they heard behind them, and the general Rout of their Party; unable besides to bear up against the Multitude of Darts which came pouring upon them, and fearing to be surrounded, and have their Retreat cut off, by the departure of their Ships; abandoned the defence of the Bridge, and ran with all the speed they could towards the Gallies. Some getting on board the nearest Vessels, overloaded and sunk them. Part making head against the Enemy, and uncertain what Course to take, were cut to pieces by the *Alexandrians*. Others more fortunate, got to the Ships that rode at Anchor; and a few, by the help of their Bucklers, swam to the nearest Vessels. *Cæsar* endeavouring to reanimate his Men, and lead them back to the Defence of the Works, was exposed to the same Danger with the rest: when finding them universally to give ground, he retreated to his own Galley; whither such a Multitude followed, and crowded after him, that it was impossible either to work or put her off. Foreseeing what must happen, he flung himself into the Sea, and swam to a Ship that lay at some distance. Hence dispatching Boats to succour his Men, he by that means preserved a small Number. His own Ship, sunk by the Multitude that crowded into her, perished with all that were on board. We lost in this Action about four hundred legionary Soldiers, and some-

what above that Number of Sailors and Rowers. The *Alexandrians* secured the Fort by strong Works, and a great Number of Engines : and having cleared away the Stones, with which *Cæsar* had blocked up the Port, enjoyed henceforward a free and open Navigation.

XV. OUR Men, instead of being disheartned at this loss, seemed rather roused and animated by it. They were making continual Sallies upon the Enemy, to destroy or check the Progress of their Works ; fell upon them as often as they had an Opportunity ; and never failed to intercept them, when they ventured to advance beyond their Fortifications. In short, the Legions were so bent upon fighting, that they even outstripped the Orders and Exhortations of *Cæsar*. They were inconsolable for their late Disgrace, and impatient to come to Blows with the Enemy ; insomuch that he found it rather necessary to restrain and check their Ardor, than incite them to Action.

XVI. THE *Alexandrians* perceiving that Success confirmed the *Romans*, and that adverse Fortune only animated them the more ; as they knew of no medium between these, on which to ground any farther hopes, resolved, either by the Advice of the Friends of their King, who were in *Cæsar*'s Quarter ; or of their own Motion ; or, perhaps, on an intimation from the King himself, suggested to him by secret Emissaries ; to send Ambassadors to *Cæsar* to demand their King. They represented : “ That  
 “ the People, weary of subjection to a Woman,  
 “ of living under a precarious Government, and  
 “ submitting to the cruel Laws of the Tyrant *Ga-*  
 “ *nymed*, instead of obeying their own lawful King,  
 “ desired nothing so much as to have him amongst  
 “ them :

“ them : that in granting their Request, he would  
 “ pave the way to an Alliance, and extinguish all  
 “ the Fears and Objections that had hitherto ob-  
 “ structed it.” Though *Cæsar* knew the Nation to  
 be false and perfidious, seldom speaking as they  
 really thought, he judged it best however to com-  
 ply with their desire. He even flattered himself,  
 that his Condescension in sending back their King  
 at their Request, would prevail on them to be faith-  
 ful : or, as was more agreeable to their Character,  
 if they only wanted the King to head their Army ;  
 at least it would be more for his Honour and Credit,  
 to have to do with a Monarch, than with a Band of  
 Slaves and Fugitives. Accordingly he sent *Ptolemy*  
 to them, exhorting him “ to take the Government  
 “ into his own hands, and consult the Welfare of so  
 “ fair and illustrious a Kingdom, defaced by hi-  
 “ deous Ruins and Conflagrations. That he would  
 “ make his Subjects sensible of their Duty, pre-  
 “ serve them from the Destruction that threatned  
 “ them, and act with Fidelity towards himself and  
 “ the *Romans*, who put so much Confidence in him,  
 “ as to send him amongst armed Enemies.” Then  
 taking him by the Hand, he told him he was at li-  
 berty to depart. But the young Prince, thoroughly  
 versed in the Art of Dissimulation, and no way de-  
 generating from the Character of his Nation, in-  
 treated *Cæsar* with Tears not to send him back ; for  
 that his Company was to him preferable to a King-  
 dom. *Cæsar*, moved at his Concern, dried up his  
 Tears ; and telling him if these were his real Sen-  
 timents they would soon meet again, dismissed him.  
 The King, like a wild Beast, escaped out of Con-  
 finement, carried on the War with such Acrimony  
 against *Cæsar*, that the Tears he shed at parting,  
 seemed to have been Tears of Joy. *Cæsar*’s Lieu-  
 tenants, Friends, Centurions, and Soldiers, were



not a little pleased at this; because through his Easiness of Temper, he had suffered himself to be imposed upon by a Child: as if in truth *Cæsar's* Behaviour on this occasion had been the Effect of Easiness of Temper, and not of the most consummate Prudence.

XVII. WHEN the *Alexandrians* found that the Restitution of their King had neither rendered their own Party stronger, nor the *Romans* weaker; that the Troops despised the Youth and Weakness of their King; and that their Affairs were no way bettered by his Presence; they were greatly discouraged: the rather, because a Report ran, that a great Body of Troops was marching by Land from *Syria* and *Cilicia* to *Cæsar's* Assistance, of which he had not as yet himself received Information. This however did not hinder their Design of intercepting the Convoys that came to him by Sea. To this end having equipped some Ships, they ordered them to cruise before the *Canopic* Branch of the *Nile*, by which they thought it most likely our Supplies would arrive. *Cæsar*, who was informed of it, sent likewise his Fleet to Sea, under the Command of *Tiberius Nero*. The *Rhodian* Gallies made part of this Squadron, headed by *Euphranor* their Admiral, without whom he had little hopes of Success from any maritime Expedition. But Fortune, which often reserves the heaviest Disasters for those who have been loaded with her highest Favours, encountered *Euphranor* upon this occasion, with an Aspect very different from what she had hitherto worn. For when our Ships were arrived at *Canopus*, and the Fleets drawn up on each side had begun the Engagement, *Euphranor* according to custom having made the first Attack, and pierced and sunk one of the Enemy's Ships; as he pursued the next a considerable



siderable way, without being sufficiently sustained by those that followed him, he was surrounded by the *Alexandrians*. None of the Fleet advanced to his Relief, either out of fear for their own Safety, or because they imagined he would easily be able to extricate himself by his Courage and good Fortune. Accordingly he alone behaved well in this Action, and being abandoned by all the rest, perished with his victorious Galley.

XVIII. ABOUT the same time *Mithridates* of *Pergamus*, a Man of illustrious Descent, distinguished for his Bravery and Knowledge in the Art of War, and who bore a very high Place in the Friendship and Confidence of *Cæsar*; having been sent in the beginning of the *Alexandrian* War, to raise Succours in *Syria* and *Cilicia*; arrived by Land at the head of a great Body of Troops, which his Diligence, and the Affection of these two Provinces, had enabled him to draw together in a very short time. He conducted them first to *Pelusium*, a City which joins *Syria* to *Egypt*. *Achillas*, who was perfectly well acquainted with its Importance, had seized and put a strong Garrison into it. For *Egypt* is considered as defended on all sides by strong Barriers; towards the Sea by the *Pharos*, and towards *Syria* by *Pelusium*, which are accounted the two Keys of that Kingdom. He attacked it so briskly with a large Body of Troops, fresh Men continually succeeding in the Place of those that were fatigued; and urged the Assault with so much Firmness and Perseverance, that he carried it the same Day, and placed a Garrison in it. Thence he pursued his March to *Alexandria*, reducing all the Provinces thro' which he passed, and conciliating them to *Cæsar*, by that Authority which always accompanies Victory.

XIX. NOT far from *Alexandria* lies *Delta*, the most celebrated Province of *Egypt*, which borrows its Name from the *Greek* Letter so called. For the *Nile* dividing into two Channels, which gradually runs off as they approach the Sea, into which they at last discharge themselves at a considerable distance from one another, leaves an intermediate space in form of a Triangle. The King understanding that *Mitbridates* approached this Place, and knowing he must pass the River, sent a great Body of Troops against him, sufficient, as he thought, if not to overwhelm and crush him, at least to stop his March. For tho' he earnestly desired to see him defeated, yet he thought it a great Point gained, to hinder his junction with *Cæsar*. The Troops that first passed the River, and came up with *Mitbridates*, attacked him immediately, that they might alone have the Honour of the Victory. *Mitbridates* at first confined himself to the defence of his Camp, which he had with great Prudence fortified according to the Custom of the *Romans*: but observing that they advanced insolently and without Caution, he sallied upon them from all Parts, and put a great Number of them to the Sword; insomuch that but for their knowledge of the Places, and the Neighbourhood of the Vessels in which they had passed the River, they must have been all destroyed. But recovering by degrees from their Terror, and joining the Troops that followed them, they again prepared to attack *Mitbridates*.

XX. MITHRIDATES sent to inform *Cæsar* of what had happened. The King was likewise informed on his side. Thus much about the same time, *Ptolemy* set out to crush *Mitbridates*, and *Cæsar* to relieve him. The King made use of the more expeditious

expeditious Conveyance of the *Nile*, where he had a large Fleet in readiness. *Cæsar* declined the Navigation of the River, that he might not be obliged to fight the Enemy's Fleet: and coasting along the *African* Shore, found means to join the victorious Troops of *Mithridates*, before *Ptolemy* could attack him.

XXI. THE King had encamped in a very dangerous Place, being an Eminence furrounded on all sides by a Plain. Three of its sides were secured by various defences. One adjoined to the *Nile*, the other was steep and inaccessible, and the third was defended by a Morass. Between *Ptolemy's* Camp and *Cæsar's* Rout lay a narrow River with very high Banks, which discharged itself into the *Nile*. This River was about seven Miles from the King's Camp; who understanding that *Cæsar* directed his March that way, sent all his Cavalry, with a choice Body of light-armed Foot, to hinder *Cæsar* from passing, and maintain an unequal Fight from the Banks, where Courage had no Opportunity to exert itself, and Cowardice ran no hazard. Our Men, both Horse and Foot, were extremely mortified, that the *Alexandrians* should so long maintain their Ground against them. Wherefore the *German* Cavalry dispersing in quest of a Ford, some found means to swim the River where the Banks were lowest; and the Legionaries at the same time cutting down several large Trees, that reached from one Bank to another, and throwing them into the Water, by their help, got to the other side. The Enemy unable to sustain their first Charge, betook themselves to flight; but in vain: for very few returned to the King, being almost all cut to pieces in the Pursuit.

XXII. CÆSAR, upon this Success, judging that his sudden Approach must strike a great Terror into the *Alexandrians*, advanced towards their Camp with his victorious Army. But finding it well intrenched, strongly fortified by Nature, and the Ramparts crowded with armed Soldiers, he did not think proper to attack it at that time, as his Troops were very much fatigued, both by their March and the late Battle; and therefore encamped at a small distance from the Enemy. Next Day he attacked a Fort, in a Village not far off, which the King had joined to his Camp by a Line of Communication, with a view of keeping possession of the Village. He employed his whole Army in this Assault: not because it would have been difficult to carry it with a few Forces; but with design of falling immediately upon the Enemy's Camp, during the Alarm the loss of this Fort must give them. Accordingly the *Romans*, in continuing the pursuit of those that fled from the Fort, arrived at last before the *Alexandrian* Camp, where a furious Battle ensued. There were two Approaches by which it might be attacked: one by the Plain, of which we have spoken before; the other by a narrow Pass, between their Camp and the *Nile*. The first, which was much the easiest, was defended by a numerous Body of their best Troops: and the access on the side of the *Nile* gave the Enemy great Advantages in distressing and wounding our Men: for they were exposed to a double shower of Darts: in front, from the Rampart; behind, from the River, where the Enemy had stationed a great number of Ships, furnished with Archers and Slingers, that kept a continual discharge. *Cæsar* observing that his Troops fought with the utmost Ardor, and yet made no great Progress, on account of the disadvantage of the



the Ground; as he saw they had left the highest part of their Camp unguarded, because being sufficiently fortified by Nature, they had all crowded to the other Attacks, partly to have a share in the Action, partly to be Spectators of the Issue: he ordered some Cohorts to wheel round the Camp, and gain that Ascent; appointing *Carfulenus* to command them, a brave Officer, and well acquainted with the Service. When they had reached the Place, where they found but very few to defend it, our Men attacked them so briskly, that the *Alexandrians* terrified by the Cries they heard behind them, and seeing themselves attacked both in front and rear, fled in the utmost Consternation on all sides. Our Men animated by the Confusion of the Enemy, entered the Camp in several places at the same time; and running down from the higher Ground, put a great number of them to the sword. The *Alexandrians* endeavouring to escape, threw themselves in Crowds over the Rampart next the River. The foremost tumbling into the Ditch, where they were crushed to death, furnished an easy passage for those that followed. The King made his escape the same Way; but by the Crowd that followed him, the Ship to which he fled was overloaded and sunk.

XXIII. AFTER this speedy and successful Action, *Cæsar*, in confidence of so great a Victory, marched the nearest way by Land to *Alexandria* with his Cavalry, and entered triumphant into that part of the Town possessed by the Enemy. He was not mistaken in thinking, that the *Alexandrians*, upon hearing of the issue of the Battle, would give over all thoughts of War. Accordingly, as soon as he was arrived, he reaped the just fruit of his Valour and Magnanimity. For the *Alexandrians* throwing down their Arms, abandoning their Works, and

assuming the habit of Suppliants, came forth to surrender themselves to *Cæsar*, preceded by all those sacred Symbols of Religion, wherewith they were wont to mollify their offended Kings. *Cæsar* accepting their Submission, and encouraging them, advanced thro' the Enemy's Works into his own Quarter of the Town, where he was received with the universal Congratulations of his Party, who were no less overjoyed at his Arrival and Presence, than at the happy issue of the War.

XXIV. *CÆSAR* having thus made himself master of *Alexandria* and *Egypt*, lodged the Government in the hands of those to whom *Ptolemy* had bequeathed it by Will, appointing the People of *Rome* his Executors, and requesting them to confirm his Choice. For the eldest of his two Sons being dead, he settled the Kingdom upon the youngest, in conjunction with his Sister *Cleopatra*, who had always continued faithful to the *Romans*. The younger *Arfinoe*, in whose name *Ganymed*, as we have seen, reigned for some time, he thought proper to banish the Kingdom, that she might not raise any new Disturbance, before the King's Authority should be firmly established. Things thus settled, he carried the sixth Legion with him into *Syria*, leaving the rest to support the Authority of the King and Queen; who neither stood well in the Affections of their Subjects, on account of their Attachment to *Cæsar*; nor could be supposed to have given any fixed Foundation to their Power, in an Administration of only a few Days continuance. It was also for the Honour and Interest of the Republick, that if they continued faithful, our Forces should protect them; if otherwise, would be in a condition to restrain them. Having thus settled the Kingdom, he marched by Land into *Syria*.

XXV.

XXV. WHILE these things passed in *Egypt*, King *Dejotarus* applied to *Domitius Calvinus*, to whom *Cæsar* had intrusted the Government of *Asia* and the neighbouring Provinces, beseeching him, "Not to suffer *Pharnaces* to seize and lay waste the lesser *Armenia*, which was his Kingdom; or *Cappadocia*, which belonged to *Ariobarzanes*; because unless they were delivered from these Insults, it would be impossible for them to execute *Cæsar's* Orders, or raise the Money they stood engaged to pay." *Domitius*, who was not only sensible of the Necessity of Money to defray the Expences of the War, but likewise thought it dishonourable to the People of *Rome* and *Cæsar*, as well as infamous to himself, to suffer the Dominions of Allies and Friends to be usurped by a foreign Prince; sent Ambassadors to *Pharnaces* to acquaint him, "That he must withdraw immediately out of *Armenia* and *Cappadocia*, and no longer insult the Majesty and Right of the *Roman* People, engaged in a civil War." But believing that his Deputation would have greater Weight, if he was ready to second it himself at the Head of an Army; he repaired to the Legions which were then in *Asia*, ordering two of them into *Egypt* at *Cæsar's* Desire, and carrying the thirty-sixth along with him. To this *Dejotarus* added two more, which he had trained up for several Years according to our Discipline; and an hundred Horse. The like Number of Horse were furnished by *Ariobarzanes*. At the same time he sent *P. Sextius* to *C. Platorius* the Quæstor, for the Legion which had been lately levied in *Pontus*; and *Quintius Patissus* into *Cilicia*, to draw thence a Body of auxiliary Troops. All these Forces had Orders to rendezvous, as soon as possible, at *Comana*.

XXVI



XXVI. MEAN-WHILE his Ambassadors returned with *Pharnaces's* Answer : " That he had quitted "*Cappadocia* ; but kept possession of the lesser *Armenia*, as his own by right of Inheritance : however, was willing to submit all to the Decision of "*Cæsar*, to whose Commands he would pay immediate Obedience." *C. Domitius*, sensible that he had quitted *Cappadocia*, not voluntarily, but out of necessity ; because he could more easily defend *Armenia*, which lay contiguous to his own Kingdom, than *Cappadocia*, which was more remote ; and because believing at first that *Domitius* had brought all the three Legions along with him, upon hearing that two were gone to *Cæsar*, he seemed more determined to keep possession : insisted " upon " his quitting *Armenia* likewise, the Reason in both " Cases being the same ; nor was it just to demand " that the Matter should be postponed 'till *Cæsar's* " Return, unless things were put in the Condition " in which they were at first." Having returned this Answer, he advanced towards *Armenia* with the Forces abovementioned, directing his March along the Hills For from *Pontus*, by the way of *Comana*, runs a woody ridge of Hills, that extends as far as *Armenia* the less, dividing it from *Cappadocia*. The Advantages he had in view by such a March were ; that he would thereby effectually prevent all Surprises, and be plentifully furnished with Provisions from *Cappadocia*.

XXVII. MEAN-TIME *Pharnaces* was perpetually sending Ambassadors to *Domitius* with Presents, and to treat of Peace. All these he firmly rejected, telling the Deputies : " That nothing was more " sacred with him, than the Majesty of the *Roman* " People, and the Rights of their Allies." After  
a long



a long March he reached *Nicopolis*, a City of *Armenia* the less, situated in a Plain, having Mountains however on its two sides, at a considerable Distance. Here he encamped about seven Miles from the Town. Between his Camp and *Nicopolis* lay a difficult and narrow Pass, where *Pharnaces* placed a chosen Body of Foot, and all his Horse in Ambuscade. He ordered a great number of Cattle to be dispersed in this Pass, and the Townsmen and Peasants to show themselves; that if *Domitius* entered the Defile as a Friend, he might have no suspicion of an Ambuscade, when he saw the Men and Flocks dispersed without Apprehension in the Fields; or if he should come as an Enemy, that the Soldiers quitting their Ranks to pillage, might fall an easy Prey to his Troops.

XXVIII. WHILE this Design was going forward, he never ceased sending Ambassadors to *Domitius*, with Proposals of Peace and Amity, as fancying by this means the more easily to insnare him. The expectation of Peace kept *Domitius* in his Camp, so that *Pharnaces* disappointed of his Hopes, and fearing the Ambuscade might be discovered, drew off his Troops. Next Day *Domitius* approached *Nicopolis*, and encamped near the Town. While our Men were working at the Trenches, *Pharnaces* drew up his Army in order of Battle, forming his Front into one Line, according to the Custom of the Country, and securing his Wings with a triple Body of Reserves. *Domitius* ordering part of the Troops to continue under Arms before the Rampart, completed the Fortifications of his Camp.

XXIX. NEXT Night *Pharnaces* having intercepted the Couriers, who brought *Domitius* an Account of the posture of Affairs at *Alexandria*; understood that

that *Cæsar* was in great Danger, and requested *Domitius* to send him Succours speedily, and come himself to *Alexandria* by the way of *Syria*. *Pbarnaces*, upon this Intelligence, imagined that protracting the Time would be equivalent to a Victory; because *Domitius*, he supposed, must very soon depart. He therefore dug two Ditches four Foot deep, at a moderate Distance from each other, on that side where lay the easiest Access to the Town, and our Forces might with most Advantage attack him; resolving not to advance beyond them. Between these he constantly drew up his Army, placing all his Cavalry upon the Wings without them, which greatly exceeded ours in Number, and would otherwise have been useless.

XXX. *DOMITIUS*, more concerned at *Cæsar*'s Danger than his own, and believing he could not retire with Safety, should he now desire the Conditions he had rejected, or march away without any apparent Cause; drew his Forces out of the Camp, and ranged them in order of Battle. He placed the thirty-sixth Legion on the right, that of *Pontus* on the left, and those of *Dejotarus* in the main Body; drawing them up with a very narrow Front, and posting the rest of the Cohorts to sustain the Wings. The Armies thus drawn up on each side, they prepared for Battle; and the Signal being given at the same time by both Parties, the Engagement began. The Conflict was sharp and various: for the thirty-sixth Legion falling upon the King's Cavalry, that was drawn up without the Ditch, charged them so successfully, that they drove them to the very Walls of the Town, passed the Ditch, and attacked their Infantry behind. But on the other side, the Legion of *Pontus* having given way; the second Line, which advanced to sustain them, fetching a compass

compass round the Ditch, in order to attack the Enemy in flank, was overwhelmed and born down by a shower of Darts, in endeavouring to pass it. The Legions of *Dejotarus* scarce made any Resistance; so that the victorious right Wing and main Body of the King's Army fell upon the thirty-sixth Legion, which yet made a brave stand; and tho' surrounded by the Forces of the Enemy, with wonderful presence of mind cast themselves into an Orb, and retired to the foot of a Mountain, whither *Pharnaces* did not think fit to pursue them, because of the Disadvantage of the Place. Thus the Legion of *Pontus* being almost wholly cut-off, with great part of those of *Dejotarus*, the thirty-sixth Legion retreated to an Eminence, with the loss of about two hundred and fifty Men. Several *Roman* Knights of illustrious Rank fell in this Battle. *Domitius*, after this Defeat, rallied the remains of his broken Army, and retreated by safe Ways through *Cappadocia* into *Asia*.

XXXI. PHARNACES elated with this Success, and hoping that *Cæsar* would never be able to extricate himself at *Alexandria*, entered *Pontus* with all his Forces. There acting as Conqueror and King, and promising himself a happier Destiny than his Father, he ravaged their Towns, seized the Effects of the *Roman* Citizens and Natives, inflicted Punishments worse than Death upon such as were distinguished by their Age or Beauty; and having made himself Master of all *Pontus*, as there was no one to oppose his Progress, boasted that he had recovered his Father's Kingdom.

XXXII. ABOUT the same time we received a considerable Check in *Illyricum*; which Province *Q. Cornificius*, *Cæsar's* Quæstor, had defended the

preceding Months, not only without Insult, but even with Honour, and a Conduct worthy of Praise. *Cæsar* had sent him thither the Summer before with two Legions; and though it was of itself little able to subsist an Army, and at that time in particular almost totally ruined by the Neighbourhood of so many Wars; yet by his Prudence, Vigilance, and uncommon Care, he defended and kept possession of it. For he made himself Master of several Forts built on Eminences, whose advantageous Situation tempted the Inhabitants to make Descents and Inroads upon the Country; and gave the Plunder of them to his Soldiers: which tho' but inconsiderable, yet as they were no Strangers to the Distress and ill Condition of the Province, did not cease to be grateful; the rather, as it was the fruit of their own Valour. And when after the Battle of *Pharsalia*, *Octavius* had retreated to that Coast with a large Fleet; *Cornificius*, with some Vessels of the *Judertini*, who had always continued faithful to the Commonwealth, made himself Master of the greatest part of his Ships, which joined to those of the *Judertini*, rendered him capable of sustaining even a naval Engagement. And while *Cæsar* victorious was pursuing *Pompey* to the remotest Parts of the Earth; upon Advice that the Enemy had for the most part retired into *Illyricum*, on account of its neighbourhood to *Macedonia*, and were there uniting into a Body, he wrote to *Gabinus*, "To repair  
 " directly thither with the new-raised Legions, and  
 " join *Cornificius*, that in case of any Danger to  
 " the Province, they might be the better able to  
 " protect it: but if less Forces sufficed, to march  
 " into *Macedonia*, which he foresaw would never be  
 " free from Commotions, so long as *Pompey* lived."



XXXIII. GABINIUS, whether he imagined the Province better provided than it really was, or depended much upon the auspicious Fortune of *Cæsar*, or confided in his own Valour and Abilities, having often terminated with Success difficult and dangerous Wars ; marched into *Illyricum* in the middle of Winter, and the most difficult Season of the Year : where not finding sufficient Subsistence in the Province, which was partly ruined, partly ill-affected ; and having no Supplies by Sea, because the season of the Year had put a stop to Navigation ; he found himself compelled to carry on the War, not according to his own Inclination, but as Necessity allowed. As he was therefore obliged to lay siege to Forts and Castles in a very rude Season, he received many Checks, and fell under such Contempt with the Barbarians, that retiring to *Salona*, a maritime City, inhabited by a set of brave and faithful Romans, he was attacked upon his March ; and after the loss of two thousand Soldiers, thirty-eight Centurions, and four Tribunes, got to *Salona* with the rest ; where his Wants continually increasing, he died a few Days after. His Misfortunes and sudden death gave *Octavius* great hopes of mastering the Province. But Fortune, whose Influence is so great in matters of War, joined to the Diligence of *Cornificius*, and the Valour of *Vatinius*, soon put an end to his Triumphs.

XXXIV. FOR *Vatinius*, who was then at *Brun-  
dium*, having intelligence of what passed in *Illyri-  
cum*, by Letters from *Cornificius*, who pressed him to come to the assistance of the Province, and informed him, that *Octavius* had leagued with the Barbarians, and in several Places attacked our Gar-  
risons, partly by Sea with his Fleet, partly by Land

with the Troops of the Barbarians : *Vatinius*, I say, upon Notice of these Things, tho' extremely weakened by Sickneſs, inſomuch that his ſtrength of Body no way answered his Reſolution and Greatneſs of Mind : yet by his Valour ſurmounted all Oppoſition, the Force of his Diſtemper, the Rigour of the Season, and the Difficulties of a ſudden Preparation. For having himſelf but a very few Gallies, he wrote to *Q. Kalenus* in *Achaia*, to furniſh him with a Squadron of Ships. But theſe not coming with that Diſpatch which the Danger our Army was in required, becauſe *Octavius* preſſed hard upon them ; he faſtened Beaks to all the Barks and Veſſels that lay in the Port, whoſe number was conſiderable enough, tho' they were not ſufficiently large for an Engagement. Joining theſe to what Gallies he had, and putting the veteran Soldiers aboard, whereof he had a great number, who had been left ſick at *Brunduſium* when the Army went over to *Greece* ; he ſailed for *Illyricum* : where having ſubjected ſeveral maritime States that had declared for *Octavius* ; and neglecting ſuch as continued obſtinate in their Revolt, becauſe he would ſuffer nothing to retard his deſign of meeting the Enemy ; he came up with *Octavius* before *Epidaurus* ; and obliging him to raiſe the Siege, which he was carrying on with great Vigour by Sea and Land, joined the Garrifon to his own Forces.

XXXV. OCTAVIUS underſtanding that *Vatinius's* Fleet conſiſted moſtly of ſmall Barks, and conſiding in the ſtrength of his own, ſtopped at the Iſle of *Tauris*. *Vatinius* followed him thither, not imagining he would halt at that Place, but becauſe he was determined to purſue him wherever he went. *Vatinius*, who had no ſuſpicion of an Enemy, and whoſe Ships were moreover diſperſed by a Tempeſt, perceived,

ceived, as he approached the Isle, a Vessel filled with Soldiers, that advanced towards him with full Sails. Upon this he gave Orders for furling the Sails, lowering the Sail-yards, and arming the Soldiers : and hoisting a Flag as a Signal of Battle, intimated to the Ships that followed to do the same. Our Men prepared themselves in the best manner their sudden Surprise would allow, while *Octavius* advanced in good order from the Port. The two Fleets drew up. *Octavius* had the advantage as to Disposition, and *Vatinius* in the Bravery of his Troops.

XXXVI. *VATINIUS* finding himself inferior to the Enemy, both in the number and largeness of his Ships, resolved to commit the Affair to Fortune, and therefore in his own Quinquereme, attacked *Octavius* in his four-benched Galley. This he did with such violence, and the shock was so great, that the Beak of *Octavius's* Galley was broke. The Battle raged with great fury likewise in other Places, but chiefly round the two Admirals : for as the Ships on each side advanced to sustain those that fought, a close and furious Conflict ensued in a very narrow Sea, where the nearer the Vessels approached, the more had *Vatinius's* Soldiers the advantage. For with admirable Courage they leaped into the Enemy's Ships, and forcing them by this means to an equal Combat, soon mastered them by their superior Valour. *Octavius's* Galley was sunk. Many others were taken, or suffered the same Fate. The Soldiers were partly slain in the Ships, partly thrown overboard into the Sea. *Octavius* got into a Boat, which sinking under the Multitude that crowded after him, he himself, tho' wounded, swam to his Brigantine : where being taken up, and Night having put an end to the Battle ; as the Wind blew very strong, he spread all his Sails and fled. A few of his

Ships, that had the good Fortune to escape, followed him.

XXXVII. VATINIUS, seeing the Enemy entirely defeated, founded a Retreat, and entered victorious the Port whence *Octavius* had sailed to fight him, without the loss of a single Vessel. He took in this Battle one Quinquereme, two Triremes, eight two-benched Gallies, and a great number of Rowers. The next Day was employed in repairing his own Fleet, and the Ships he had taken from the Enemy; after which he sailed for the Island of *Issa*, imagining *Octavius* would retire thither after his Defeat. In this Island was a flourishing City well affected to *Octavius*, which however surrendered to *Vatinius* upon the first Summons. Here he understood that *Octavius*, attended by a few small Barks, had sailed with a fair Wind for *Greece*, whence he intended to pass on to *Sicily*, and afterwards to *Africa*. *Vatinius* having in so short a space successfully terminated the Affairs of *Illyricum*, restored the Province in a peaceable condition to *Cornificius*, and driven the Enemy's Fleet out of those Seas, returned victorious to *Brundisium*, with his Army and Fleet in good Condition.

XXXVIII. WHILE *Cæsar* besieged *Pompey* at *Dyrrhachium*, triumphed at *Pharsalia*, and carried on the War with so much danger at *Alexandria*, *Cassius Longinus*, who had been left in *Spain* as Pro-prætor of the farther Province; either through his natural Disposition, or out of a hatred he had contracted to the Province, because of a Wound he had treacherously received there when *Quæstor*, drew upon himself the general dislike of the People. He discerned this Temper among them, partly from a consciousness that he deserved it, partly from  
the



the manifest Indications they gave of their Discontent. To secure himself against their Disaffection, he endeavoured to gain the love of the Soldiers; and having for this Purpose assembled them together, promised them an hundred Sesterces a Man. Soon after, having made himself Master of *Medobrega*, a Town in *Lusitania*, and of Mount *Herminius*, whither the *Medobregians* had retired; and being upon that occasion saluted Imperator by the Army, he gave them another hundred Sesterces each. These, accompanied with other considerable Largeesses in great number, seemed for the present to increase the good-will of the Army, but tended gradually and imperceptibly to the relaxation of military Discipline.

XXXIX. CASSIUS having sent his Army into Winter-quarters, fixed his residence at *Cordova* for the administration of Justice. Being greatly in debt, he resolved to pay it by laying heavy Impositions upon the Province; and according to the custom of Prodigals, made his Liberalities a Pretence to justify the most exorbitant Demands. He taxed the rich at discretion, and compelled them to pay without the least regard to their Remonstrances; frequently improving light and trifling Offences, as an handle for all manner of Extortions. All methods of gain were pursued, whether great and apparent, or mean and sordid. None that had any thing to lose could escape Accusation; insomuch that the plunder of their private Fortunes was aggravated by the Dangers they were exposed to from pretended Crimes.

XL. THUS *Longinus*, acting the same part when Proconsul, which he had done when Quæstor, drew upon himself the like Conspiracies against his Life.

Even his own Dependents concurred in the general Hatred; who tho' the Ministers of his Rapine, yet hated the Man by whose Authority they committed those Crimes. The Odium still increased upon his raising a fifth Legion, which added to the Expence and Burden of the Province. The Cavalry was augmented to three thousand, with costly Ornaments and Equipage; nor had the People any respite from his Extortions.

XLI. MEAN-WHILE he received Orders from *Cæsar*, to transport his Army into *Africa*, and march thro' *Mauritania* towards *Numidia*, because King *Juba* had sent considerable Succours to *Pompey*, and was preparing to send more. These Letters filled him with an insolent Joy, by the Opportunity they offered him of pillaging new Provinces, and a wealthy Kingdom. He therefore hastened into *Lusitania*, to assemble his Legions, and draw together a Body of Auxiliaries; appointing certain Persons to provide Corn, Ships, and Money, that nothing might retard him at his return; which was much sooner than expected: for when Interest called, *Cassius* wanted neither Industry nor Vigilance.

XLII. HAVING got his Army together, and encamped near *Cordova*, he made a Speech to the Soldiers, wherein he acquainted them with the Orders he had received from *Cæsar*, and promised them a hundred Sesterces each, when they should arrive in *Mauritania*. The fifth Legion, he told them, was to remain in *Spain*. Having ended his Speech, he returned to *Cordova*. The same Day about noon, as he went to the Hall of Justice, one *Mirutius Silo*, a Client of *L. Racilius*, presented him with a Paper, in a Soldier's Habit, as if he had  
some

some request to make. Then retiring behind *Racilius* (who walked beside *Cassius*;) as if waiting for an Answer, he insensibly drew near; and a favourable Opportunity offering, seized *Cassius* with his left Hand, and wounded him twice with a Dagger in his right. The Noise this occasioned was as a Signal to the Conspirators, who all rushed upon him in a Body. *Munatius Plancus* killed the Lictor that was next *Longinus*, and wounded *Q. Cassius* his Lieutenant. *T. Vastus*, and *L. Mergilio*, seconded their Countryman *Plancus*; for they were all *Italians*. *L. Licinius Squillus* flew upon *Longinus* himself, and gave him several slight Wounds as he lay upon the Ground. By this time his Guards came up to his Assistance, (for he always had a Body of Veterans armed with Darts to attend him,) and surrounded the rest of the Conspirators who were advancing to compleat the Assassination. Of this number were *Calpurnius Salvianus*, and *Manilius Tuscus*. *Cassius* was carried home; and *Minutius Silius* stumbling upon a Stone as he endeavoured to make his escape, was taken and brought to him. *Racilius* retired to the neighbouring House of a Friend, 'till he should have certain Information of the Fate of *Cassius*. *L. Laterensis* not doubting but he was dispatched, ran in a transport of Joy to the Camp, to congratulate the second and the new-raised Legions upon it, who, he knew, bore a particular hatred to *Cassius*; and who immediately upon this Intelligence, placed him on the Tribunal, and proclaimed him Prætor. For there was not a Native of the Province, nor a Soldier of the new-raised Legion, nor a Person who by long residence was naturalized to the Province, of which kind the second Legion consisted, who did not join in the general hatred of *Cassius*. Mean-time *Laterensis* was informed that *Cassius* was still alive; at which being

being rather grieved than disconcerted, he immediately so far recovered himself, as to go and wait upon him. By this time the thirtieth Legion having notice of what had passed, marched to *Cordova* to the assistance of their General. The twenty-first and fifth followed their Example. As only two Legions remained in the Camp, the second fearing they should be left alone, and thereby have their Sentiments known, did the same. But the new-raised Legion continued firm, nor could be induced by any Motives of Fear, to stir from its Place. *Cassius* ordered all the Accomplices of the Conspiracy to be seized, and sent back the fifth Legion to the Camp, retaining the other three. By the Confession of *Minutius* he learnt, that *L. Racilius*, *L. Laterensis*, and *Annius Scapula*, a Man of great Authority and Credit in the Province, and equally in his Confidence with *Laterensis* and *Racilius*, were concerned in the Plot: nor did he long defer his Revenge, but ordered them to be put to death. He delivered *Minutius* to be racked by his Freed-men; likewise *Calpurnius Salvianus*; who turning Evidence, increased the Number of the Conspirators; justly, as some think; but others pretend that he was forced. *L. Mergilio* was likewise put to the torture. *Squillus* impeached many others, who were all condemned to die, except such as redeemed their Lives by a Fine: for he pardoned *Calpurnius* for ten, and *Q. Sextius* for fifty thousand Sesterces; who, though deeply guilty, yet having in this manner escaped death, shewed *Cassius* to be no less covetous than cruel.

XLIII. SOME Days after, he received Letters from *Cæsar*, with an Account of *Pompey's* Defeat and Flight: which News equally affected him with Joy and Sorrow. *Cæsar's* Success gave him Pleasure;



ture ; but the conclusion of the War would put an end to his Rapines : insomuch that he was uncertain which to wish for, Victory, or an unbounded Licentiousness. When he was cured of his Wounds, he sent for all who were indebted to him in any Sums, and insisted upon immediate Payment. Such as were taxed too low, had orders to furnish larger Sums. Such *Roman* Citizens as had been levied in the several Colonies of the Province, and were alarmed at the thoughts of a foreign Expedition, obtained their Discharge for a certain Sum. This brought in a vast Revenue, but greatly increased the general Hatred. He afterwards reviewed the Army, sent the Legions and Auxiliaries designed for *Africa* towards the Straits of *Hercules*, and went himself to *Seville*, to examine the condition of the Fleet. He stay'd there some time, in consequence of an Edict he had published, ordering all who had not paid the Sums in which they were amerced, to repair to him thither ; which created an universal Murmuring and Discontent.

XLIV. IN the mean-time *L. Titius*, a military Tribune of the new-raised Legion, sent him notice of a Report, that the thirtieth Legion, one of those he was carrying with him to *Africa*, had mutinied at *Ilurgis*, killed some of the Centurions that opposed them, and were gone over to the second Legion, who marched another Way towards the Straits. Upon this Intelligence, he set out by Night with five Cohorts of the twenty-first Legion, and came up with them in the Morning. He stay'd there that Day, to consult what was proper to be done, and then went to *Carmona*, where he found the thirtieth and twenty-first Legions, with four Cohorts of the fifth, and all the Cavalry assembled. Here he learnt, that the new-raised

Legion had surpris'd four Cohorts near *Obucula*, and forced them along with them to the second Legion ; where all joining, they had chosen *T. Thorius* an *Italian* for their General. Having instantly called a Council, he sent *Marcellus* to *Cordova*, to secure that Town, and *Q. Cassius*, his Lieutenant, to *Seville*. A few Days after, news was brought that *Cordova* had revolted, and that *Marcellus*, either voluntarily, or through Force, (for the Reports were various) had joined them ; as likewise the two Cohorts of the fifth Legion that were in Garrison there. *Cassius* provoked at these Mutinies decamp'd, and the next Day came to *Segovia*, upon the River *Xenil*. There summoning an Assembly, to sound the Disposition of the Troops, he found ; that it was not out of any Regard to him, but to *Cæsar*, though absent, that they continued faithful, and were ready to undergo any Danger for the recovery of the Province,

XLV. MEAN-WHILE *Thorius* marched the veteran Legions to *Cordova* ; and that the Revolt might not appear to spring from a seditious Inclination in him or the Soldiers ; as likewise to oppose an equal Authority to that of *Q. Cassius*, who was drawing together a great Force in *Cæsar's* Name ; he publickly gave out, that his Design was to recover the Province for *Pompey*. Nay perhaps he was really influenced by a love for *Pompey*, whose Name was dear to those Legions that had served under *Varro*. Be this as it will, *Thorius* at least made it his Pretence ; and the Soldiers were so infatuated with the Thought, that they had *Pompey's* Name inscribed upon their Bucklers. The Citizens of *Cordova*, Men, Women, and Children, came out to meet the Legions ; “ begging they would not “ enter *Cordova* as Enemies, seeing they joined “ with

“ with them in their Aversion to *Cassius*, and only  
 “ desired they might not be obliged to act against  
 “ *Cæsar*.”

XLVI. THE Soldiers moved by the Prayers and Tears of so great a Multitude, and seeing they stood in no need of *Pompey*'s Name and Memory to spirit up a Revolt against *Cassius*, as he was equally odious to the Partizans of both Parties: neither being able to prevail with *Marcellus*, or the People of *Cordova*, to declare against *Cæsar*; they erased *Pompey*'s Name from their Bucklers, chose *Marcellus* their Commander, joined the Citizens of *Cordova*, and encamped near the Town. Two Days after, *Cassius* encamped on an Eminence on this side the *Bætis*, about four Miles from *Cordova*, and within view of the Town; whence he sent Letters to *Bogud* in *Mauritania*, and *M. Lepidus*, Proconsul of hither *Spain*, to come to his Assistance as soon as possible for *Cæsar*'s sake. Mean-while he ravaged the Country, and set fire to the Buildings round *Cordova*.

XLVII. The Legions under *Marcellus*, provoked at this Indignity, ran to him, and begged to be led against the Enemy, that they might have an Opportunity of fighting them, before they could have time to destroy with Fire and Sword, the rich and noble Possessions of the *Cordovians*. *Marcellus*, tho' averse to a Battle, which, whoever was victorious, must turn to *Cæsar*'s detriment; yet unable to restrain the Legions, crossed the *Bætis*, and drew up his Men. *Cassius* did the same upon a rising Ground: but as he would not quit his advantageous Post, *Marcellus* persuaded his Men to return to their Camp. He had already begun to retire, when *Cassius*, knowing himself to be stronger in Cavalry,  
 fell

fell upon the Legionaries with his Horse, and made a considerable Slaughter in their Rear, upon the Banks of the River. This Check making *Marcellus* sensible of the Mistake he had committed in passing the River, he removed his Camp to the other side, where both Armies frequently drew up, but did not engage, on account of the inequality of the Ground.

XLVIII. MARCELLUS was stronger in Foot, for he commanded veteran Legions, of great Experience in War. *Cassius* depended more on the Fidelity than the Courage of his Troops. The two Camps being very near each other, *Marcellus* seized a spot of Ground where he built a Fort, very convenient for depriving the Enemy of Water. *Longinus* apprehending he should be besieged in a Country where all were against him, quitted his Camp in the Night, and by a quick March reached *Ulla*, a Town on which he thought he could rely. There he encamped so near the Walls, that both by the Situation of the Place, (for *Ulla* stands on an Eminence) and the Defences of the Town, he was on all sides secure from an Attack. *Marcellus* followed him, and encamped as near the Town as possible. Having taken a view of the Place, he found himself reduced by necessity to do what was most agreeable to his own Inclination; and neither engage *Cassius*, which the Ardour of his Soldiers would have forced him to, had it been possible; nor suffer him by his Excursions to infest the Territories of other States, as he had done those of *Cordova*. He therefore raised Redoubts in proper Places, and continued his Works quite round the Town, inclosing both *Ulla* and *Cassius* within his Lines. But before they were finished, *Cassius* sent out all his Cavalry; who he imagined might do him great Service, by cutting



cutting off *Marcellus's* Provisions and Forage ; and could only be an useless Incumbrance upon him, by consuming his Provisions, if he was shut up in his Camp.

XLIX. A few Days after, King *Bogud* having received *Cassius's* Letters, came and joined him with all his Forces, consisting of one Legion, and several auxiliary Cohorts. For as commonly happens in civil Diffensions, some of the States of *Spain* at that time favoured *Cassius*, but a yet greater Number, *Marcellus*. *Bogud* came up to the advanced Works of *Marcellus*, where many sharp Skirmishes happened with various Success : however, *Marcellus* still kept possession of his Works.

L. MEAN-WHILE *Lepidus*, from the hither Province, with thirty-five legionary Cohorts, and a great Body of Horse and Auxiliaries, came to *Ulla*, with design to adjust the Differences between *Cassius* and *Marcellus*. *Marcellus* submitted without Hesitation : but *Cassius* kept within his Works, either because he thought his Cause the justest, or from an apprehension that his Adversary's Submission had prepossessed *Lepidus* in his favour. *Lepidus* encamped with *Marcellus* at *Ulla*, prevented a Battle, invited *Cassius* into his Camp, and engaged his Honour to act without Prejudice. *Cassius* hesitated long, but at last desired that the Circumvallation should be levelled, and free Egress given him. The Truce was not only concluded, but the Works demolished, and the Guards drawn off, when King *Bogud* attacked one of *Marcellus's* Forts, that lay nearest to his Camp, unknown to any (unless perhaps *Longinus*, who was not exempt from Suspicion on this occasion) and slew a great Number of his Men.

Men. And had not *Lepidus* interposed, much Mischief would have been done.

LI. A free Passage being now made for *Cassius*, *Marcellus* joined Camps with *Lepidus*; and both together marched for *Cordova*, while *Cassius* retired to *Carmona*. At the same time *Trebonius*, the Proconsul, came to take possession of the Province. *Cassius* having notice of his Arrival, sent his Legions and Cavalry into Winter-quarters, and hastened with all his Effects to *Melaca*, where he embarked immediately, tho' it was the Winter-Season; that he might not, as he pretended, come into the Power of *Marcellus*, *Lepidus* and *Trebonius*; as his Friends gave out, to avoid passing thro' a Province, great part of which had revolted from him; but as was more generally believed, to secure the Money he had amassed by his numberless Extortions. The Wind favouring him as far as could be expected at that Season of the Year, he put into the *Iberus*, to avoid sailing in the Night; and thence continuing his Voyage, which he thought he might do with Safety, tho' the Wind blew considerably fresher; he was encountered by such a Storm at the Mouth of the River, that being neither able to return, because of the Stream, nor stem the Fury of the Waves, the Ship and all that were in her perished.

LII. CÆSAR arriving in *Syria* from *Egypt*, and understanding by those who attended him there from *Rome*, and the Letters he received at the same time; that the Government there was upon a very bad footing, and all the Affairs of the Commonwealth managed indiscreetly; that the Contests of the Tribunes were producing perpetual Seditions, and the Remisness of the Officers of the Legions destroying military Discipline; all which required his speedy  
 Presence

Presence to redress them: thought it yet first incumbent upon him, to settle the State of the Provinces thro' which he passed; that freeing them from domestick Contentions, and the Fear of a foreign Enemy, the Laws might have a free course. This he hoped soon to effect in *Syria*, *Cilicia*, and *Asia*, because these Provinces were not involved in War. In *Bythinia* and *Pontus* indeed he expected more Trouble, because he understood *Pharnaces* still continued in *Pontus*, and was not likely to quit it easily, being flushed with the Victory he had obtained over *Domitius Calvinus*. He made a short stay in most States of Note, distributing Rewards both publicly and privately to such as deserved them, determining old Controversies, and receiving into his Protection the Kings, Princes, and Potentates, as well of the Provinces, as of the neighbouring Countries. And having settled the necessary Regulations for the Defence of the Country, he dismissed them fully satisfied with himself and the Republick.

LIII. AFTER a stay of some Days in those Parts, he named *Sextus Caesar*, his Friend and Relation, to the Command of *Syria*, and the Legions appointed to guard it; and sailed himself for *Cilicia*, with the Fleet he had brought from *Egypt*. He summoned the States to assemble at *Tarsus*, the strongest and finest City of the Province; where having settled every thing that regarded either it or the neighbouring Countries, his warlike Ardour would not suffer him to tarry longer; but marching thro' *Cappadocia* with the utmost Expedition, where he stopped two Days at *Mazaca*, he arrived at *Comana*, renowned for the ancient and sacred Temple of *Bellona*, where she is worshipped with so much Veneration, that her Priest is accounted next in Power and Dignity



to the King. He conferred this Dignity on *Lycomedes* of *Bithynia*, descended of the ancient Kings of *Cappadocia*, who demanded it in right of Inheritance; his Ancestors having lost it upon occasion of the Scepter's being transferred to another Line. As for *Ariobarzanes*, and his Brother *Ariarates*, who had both deserved well of the Commonwealth, he confirmed the first in his Kingdom, and put the other under his Protection; after which, he pursued his March with the same Dispatch.

LIV. UPON his approaching *Pontus*, and the Frontiers of *Gallogræcia*; *Deiotarus*, Tetrarch of that Province, (whose Title however was disputed by the neighbouring Tetrarchs) and King of the lesser *Armenia*, laying aside the Regal Ornaments, and assuming the Habit not only of a private Person, but even of a Criminal, came in a suppliant manner to *Cæsar*, "To beg Forgiveness for obeying and assisting *Pompey*, at a time when *Cæsar* could afford him no Protection: urging, that it was his Business to obey the Governors who were present, without pretending to judge of the Disputes of the People of *Rome*." *Cæsar*, after putting him in mind, "of the many Services he had done him, and the Decrees he had procured in his Favour when Consul; that his Defection could claim no Excuse from want of Information, because one of his Industry and Prudence could not but know who was Master of *Italy* and *Rome*; where the Senate, the People, and the Majesty of the Republick resided; who in fine was Consul after *Marcellus* and *Lentulus*: told him, that he would notwithstanding forgive his present Fault, in consideration of his past Services, the former Friendship that had subsisted between them, the Respect due to his Age, and  
" the



“ the Solicitation of those who interceded in his  
 “ behalf : adding, that he would refer the Contro-  
 “ versy relating to the Tetrarchate to another time.”  
 He restored him the Royal Habit, and commanded  
 him to join him with all his Cavalry, and the Le-  
 gion he had trained up after the *Roman* Manner.

LV. WHEN he was arrived in *Pontus*, and had  
 drawn all his Forces together, which were not very  
 considerable either for their Number or Discipline ;  
 (for except the sixth Legion, composed of veteran  
 Soldiers, which he had brought with him from  
*Alexandria*, and which by its many Labours and  
 Dangers, the length of its Marches and Voyages,  
 and the frequent Wars in which it had been en-  
 gaged, was reduced to less than a thousand Men ;  
 he had only the Legion of *Dejotarus*, and two more  
 that had been in the late Battle between *Domitius* and  
*Pharnaces* :) Ambassadors arrived from *Pharnaces*,  
 “ To intreat that *Cæsar* would not look upon him  
 “ as an Enemy, he being ready to submit to all his  
 “ Commands.” Particularly they represented, “ That  
 “ *Pharnaces* had granted no Aid to *Pompey*, as *De-*  
 “ *jotarus* had done, whom he had nevertheless par-  
 “ doned.” *Cæsar* replied, “ That *Pharnaces* should  
 “ meet with the utmost Justice, if he performed  
 “ his Promises : but at the same time admonished  
 “ the Ambassadors in gentle Terms, to forbear  
 “ mentioning *Dejotarus*, and not to over-rate the  
 “ having refused Aid to *Pompey*. He told them,  
 “ he was always ready to forgive the Suppliant,  
 “ but would never look upon private Services to  
 “ himself, as an Atonement for publick Injuries  
 “ done the Province : That *Pharnaces*’s Refusal of  
 “ aiding *Pompey*, had turned chiefly to his own  
 “ Advantage, as he had thereby avoided all share  
 “ in the Disaster of *Pharsalia* : That he was how-

“ ever willing to forgive the Injuries done to the  
 “ *Roman* Citizens in *Pontus*, because it was now too  
 “ late to think of redressing them; as he could  
 “ neither restore Life to the dead, or Manhood to  
 “ those he had deprived of it, by a Punishment  
 “ more intolerable to the *Romans* than Death itself.  
 “ But that he must quit *Pontus* immediately, send  
 “ back the Farmers of the Revenues, and restore  
 “ to the *Romans* and their Allies, what he unjustly  
 “ detained from them. These Things performed,  
 “ he might then send the Presents which successful  
 “ Generals were wont to receive from their  
 “ Friends:” (for *Pharnaces* had sent him a golden  
 Crown.) With this Answer he dismissed the Am-  
 bassadors.

LVI. PHARNACES promised every thing: but  
 hoping that *Cæsar*, who was in haste to be gone,  
 would give easy Credit to whatever he said, that he  
 might the sooner set out upon more urgent Affairs;  
 (for every body knew that his Presence was much  
 wanted at *Rome*,) he performed but slowly, wanted  
 to protract the Day of his departure, demanded  
 other Conditions, and in fine endeavoured to elude  
 his Engagements. *Cæsar* perceiving his Drift, did  
 now out of Necessity, what he was usually wont to  
 do thro’ Inclination, and resolved to decide the Af-  
 fair as soon as possible by a Battle.

LVII. ZIELA is a Town of *Pontus*, well for-  
 tified, tho’ situated in a Plain. For a natural Emi-  
 nence, as if raised by Art, sustains the Walls on  
 all sides. All around are a great number of large  
 Mountains, intersected by Valleys. The highest  
 of these, famed by the Victory of *Mithridates*, the  
 Defeat of *Triarius*, and the Destruction of our  
 Army, is not above three Miles from *Ziela*, and  
 has

has a Ridge that almost extends to the Town. Here *Pharnaces* lodged himself with all his Forces, repairing the Fortifications of a Camp which had proved so fortunate to his Father.

LVIII. CÆSAR encamped about five Miles from the Enemy; and observing that the Valleys which defended the King's Camp, would likewise defend his own at the same Distance, if the Enemy, who were much nearer, did not seize them before him; he ordered a great quantity of Fascines to be brought within the Intrenchments. This being quickly performed; next Night, at the fourth Watch, leaving all the Baggage in the Camp, he set out with the Legions; and arriving at Day-break unsuspected by the Enemy, possessed himself of the same Post where *Mitbridates* had defeated *Triarius*. Hither he commanded all the Fascines to be brought, employing the Servants of the Army for that Purpose, that the Soldiers might not be called off from the Works; because the Valley, which divided the Eminence where he was intrenching himself, from the Enemy, was not above a Mile over.

LIX. PHARNACES perceiving this next Morning, ranged all his Troops in order of Battle before his Camp. But the approach towards us was so dangerous, that *Cæsar* concluded it to be no more than a Review; or done with design to retard his Works, by keeping a great number of his Men under Arms; or perhaps for Ostentation, to shew that he trusted no less to his Army, than the advantage of his Post. Therefore keeping only his first Line in order of Battle, he commanded the rest of the Army to go on with the Works. But *Pharnaces*, either prompted by the Place itself, which had been so fortunate to his Father; or induced by favourable

Omens, as we were afterwards told ; or despising the small number of our Men that were in Arms ; for he took all that were employed in carrying Materials to the Works to be Soldiers ; or confiding in his veteran Army, who valued themselves upon having defeated the twenty-second Legion ; and at the same time contemning our Troops, whom he had worsted under *Domitius* : was determined upon a Battle, and to that end began to cross the Valley. *Cæsar* at first laughed at his Ostentation, in crowding his Army into so narrow a Place, where no Enemy in his right Senses would have ventured ; while in the mean-time *Pharnaces* continued his March, and began to ascend the steep Hill on which *Cæsar* was posted.

LX. *CÆSAR* astonished at his incredible Rashness and Confidence, and finding himself suddenly and unexpectedly attacked, called off his Soldiers from the Works, ordered them to Arms, opposed the Legions to the Enemy, and ranged his Troops in order of Battle. The suddenness of the thing occasioned some Terror at first ; and the Chariots armed with Scythes, falling in with our Ranks before they were compleated, disordered them considerably : however, the multitude of Darts discharged against them, soon put a stop to their career. The Enemy's Army followed them close, and began the Battle with a Shout. Our advantageous situation, but especially the assistance of the Gods, who preside over all the Events of War, and more particularly those where human Conduct can be of no service, favoured us greatly on this Occasion.

LXI. AFTER a sharp and obstinate Conflict, Victory began to declare for us, on the right Wing, where



where the sixth Legion was posted. The Enemy there was totally overthrown ; but in the center and left the Battle was long and doubtful : however, with the assistance of the same Gods, we at last prevailed there also, and drove them with the utmost Precipitation down the Hill, which they had so easily ascended before. Great numbers being slain, and many crushed by the flight of their own Troops, such as had the good Fortune to escape were nevertheless obliged to throw away their Arms ; so that having crossed the Valley, and got upon the opposite Ascent, they could yet, because unarmed, derive no benefit from the advantage of the Ground. Our Men flushed with Victory made no scruple to follow them, and even attack their Camp ; which they soon forced, notwithstanding the Resistance made by the Cohorts left by *Pbarnaces* to guard it. Almost the whole Army was cut to pieces or made Prisoners. *Pbarnaces* himself escaped with a few Horse ; and had not our Soldiers been detained some time by the Assault of the Camp, he must certainly have fallen alive into *Cæsar's* hands.

LXII. THO' *Cæsar* was accustomed to Victory, yet the present Success gave him no small Joy ; because he had so speedily put an end to a very great War. The remembrance too of the Danger to which he had been exposed, enhanced the Pleasure, as he had obtained an easy Victory in a very difficult Conjunction. Having thus recovered *Pontus*, and abandoned the Plunder of the Enemy's Camp to the Soldiers, he set out next Day with a Guard of light Horse. The sixth Legion had Orders to return to *Italy*, to receive the Honours and Rewards they had merited : the auxiliary Troops of *Dejotarus* were sent home ; and *Cælius Vincianus* was left

with two Legions to protect the Kingdom of *Pontus*.

LXIII. THRO' *Gallogræcia* and *Bithynia* he went into *Asia*, settling all the Controversies of the Provinces as he passed, and establishing the Limits and Jurisdictions of the several Kings, States, and Tetrarchs. *Mitbridates* of *Pergamus*, who had so speedily and successfully served him in *Egypt*, as we have related above, a Man of royal Descent and Education, (for *Mitbridates* King of all *Asia*, out of regard to his Birth, had carried him along with him when very young, and kept him in his Camp several Years,) was appointed King of *Bosphorus*, which had belonged to *Pharnaces*. And thus were the Provinces of the *Roman* People screened from the Attempts of barbarous and hostile Kings, by the Interposition of a Prince steddily attached to the Interests of the Republick. To this was added the Tetrarchate of *Gallogræcia*, which belonged to him of right, tho' it had been possessed for some Years by *Dejotarus*. Thus *Cæsar*, staying no where longer than the necessity of Affairs required, and having settled all things relating to the Provinces with the utmost success and dispatch, returned to *Italy* much sooner than was expected.

**A. HIRTIUS PANSA'S**

**COMMENTARIES**

**OF THE**

**AFRICAN WAR.**

## THE ARGUMENT.

I. Cæsar sets out for Africa. III. And lands at Adrumetum. IV. He treats with Confidius about the surrender of that Town: but in vain. V. Thence he removes his Camp to Ruspina. VI. And again to Leptis, which he immediately takes possession of. VII. Here he draws together his auxiliary Troops. VIII. And afterwards returns to Ruspina, to provide himself with Corn. IX. Whence preparing to sail in quest of his Transports, they unexpectedly appear before the Port. XI. Skirmishes between Cæsar and Labienus near Ruspina. XVII. Petreius and Piso advance to support Labienus, but they are nevertheless all repulsed. XVIII. The number of Labienus's Troops, and his Presumption. XIX. Scipio joins Labienus. Cæsar fortifies his Camp. XXI. Young Pompey, by Cato's Advice, prepares for War, but without success. XXII. Cæsar suffers greatly for want of Corn. XXIII. King Juba marching to the assistance of Scipio, is forced to return to defend his own Kingdom against Bogud. XXIV. Cæsar resolving to fight the Enemy, draws Troops together from all parts. XXV. The manner of training Scipio's Elephants. XXVI. One of Cæsar's Ships taken by the Enemy. XXVII. Labienus attacks Leptis in vain. XXVIII. Scipio draws out his Troops. Cæsar keeps within his Camp. XXIX. A great number of Numidians and Getulians desert to Cæsar. XXX. The Town of Acilla demands a Garrison from Cæsar, and is immediately invested by the Enemy. XXXI. Cæsar receives a Supply of Troops and Corn by Sea. XXXII. A Body of Getulians, sent out as Scouts by Scipio, desert to Cæsar. XXXIII. Cato sends Supplies to Scipio. The City of Tifdra demands a Garrison of Cæsar. XXXIV. Cæsar makes choice of a new Camp,



## THE ARGUMENT.

*Camp, and strengthens it with Works; which the Enemy advancing to retard, are repulsed with great Slaughter. XXXVIII. Upon which Cæsar draws out his Army; but the Enemy keep within their Camp. XL. The Siege of Acilla raised. XLI. The surprising Fortitude of one of Cæsar's Centurions, taken Prisoner by Scipio; and the Cruelty of that General. XLII. The great Mischief done by a sudden Storm of Rain. XLIII. King Juba arrives in Scipio's Camp at the head of a great Body of Troops. XLIV. Cæsar having dislodged Labienus, seizes the Hill on which he was posted. XLV. Cæsar's Works for the Security of his Camp. XLVI. Juba and Labienus attacking a Party of Cæsar's Men, as they returned from the Works, are repulsed with great Slaughter. XLVII. Two Legions arrive to Cæsar's Aid. XLVIII. Cæsar's Steadiness in maintaining military Discipline. XLIX. The Getulians revolting from Juba, oblige him to divide his Forces. L. Cæsar feigns a Design upon Uzita, whence a great many Persons of illustrious Rank join him. LI. Juba's Pride. LII. Both Armies drawn up. LIII. The order of Battle on each side. LIV. After a few Skirmishes between the Horse, both retire to their Camps. LV. Some of Cæsar's Ships burnt by the Enemy, and others taken. LVI. Cæsar embarking in Person, follows the Enemy, defeats them, and returns to his Camp. LVII. Cæsar in want of Corn. LVIII. Which compels him to leave his Camp. Scipio pursues him. LIX. He possesses himself of Zeta, a Town beyond the Enemy's Camp. LX. The Enemy attacking him as he returns laden with Plunder, are repulsed. LXI. Difficulty of fighting with the Numidians: Cæsar's Contrivance for that purpose. LXII. The Town of Vacca, demanding a Garrison of Cæsar, is plundered by King Juba. LXIII. The Enemy declining a Battle, Cæsar decamps, and repulses*

## THE ARGUMENT.

*pulses the Troops sent to set upon him in his March.*  
 LXIV. *But not caring to besiege Sarfura, he returns to his old Camp.* LXV. *The Thabenenses demand Cæsar's Protection.* LXVI. *Cæsar receives fresh Succours.* LXVII. *A Battle of the Cavalry, in which Cæsar has the Advantage.* LXVIII. *The Enemy still declining an Engagement, Cæsar besieges Thapsus.* LXIX. *Scipio attempts to relieve it.* LXX. *Cæsar encouraging his Men, and finding them full of Alacrity, attacks the Enemy.* LXXII. *The surprising Bravery of a private Soldier.* LXXIII. *Scipio's Army defeated, and almost totally cut off.* LXXIV. *Cæsar marches for Utica.* LXXV. *Whither Scipio's Cavalry had retired.* LXXVI. *Cato kills himself. Utica surrenders.* LXXVII. *Cæsar in his March to Utica possesses himself of Ufceta and Adrumetum.* LXXVIII. *He pardons the Uticans.* LXXIX. *Juba flying to Zama, is refused Admittance.* LXXX. *Zama, and several of the King's Generals surrender to Cæsar.* LXXXI. *Confidius surrenders Tisdra, and Vergilius Thapsus.* LXXXII. *The Death of Juba and Petreius.* LXXXIII. *Also of Faustus and Afranius.* LXXXIV. *And of Scipio.* LXXXV. *Cæsar converts Juba's Kingdom into a Province.* LXXXVI. *And returns to Rome.*











*A. HIRTIUS PANSAS's*  
**COMMENTARIES**  
 OF THE  
*AFRICAN WAR.*

I. **C**ÆSAR setting out for *Rome*, advanced by moderate Journeys towards *Sicily*; and continuing his March without intermission, arrived on the nineteenth of *December* at *Lilybæum*. Designing to embark immediately, though he had only one Legion of new Levies, and not quite six hundred Horse, he ordered his Tent to be pitched so near the Sea-side, that the Waves flowed up to the very foot of it. This he did with a view to take away all hopes of Delay, and keep his Men in readiness at a Day or an Hour's Warning. The Wind at that time proving contrary, he nevertheless suffered none of the Soldiers or Mariners to come on Shore, that he might lose no Opportunity of sailing; the rather, because the Inhabitants of the Province were perpetually talking of the mighty Forces of the Enemy;

my ; a Cavalry not to be numbered ; four Legions headed by *Juba*, together with a great Body of light-armed Troops ; ten Legions under the Command of *Scipio* ; an hundred and twenty Elephants, and Fleets in abundance. Yet all these Reports alarmed him not, nor ought abated his Resolution and Confidence. Mean-time the Number of Gallies and Transports increased daily ; the new levied Legions flocked in to him from all Parts ; among the rest the fifth, a veteran Legion, and about two thousand Horse.

II. HAVING got together six Legions, and about two thousand Horse ; he embarked the Legions as fast as they arrived, in the Gallies ; and the Cavalry in the Transports. Then sending the greatest part of the Fleet before, with Orders to sail for the Island of *Aponiana*, not far from *Lilybaeum* ; he himself continued a little longer in *Sicily*, to expose to publick Sale some confiscated Estates. Leaving all other Affairs to the care of *Allienus* the Prætor, who then commanded in the Island ; and strictly charging him to use the utmost Expedition in embarking the remainder of the Troops ; he set sail the twenty-seventh of *December*, and soon came up with the rest of the Fleet. As the Wind was favourable, and afforded a quick Passage, he arrived the fourth Day within sight of *Africa*, attended by a few Gallies : for the Transports, being mostly dispersed and scattered by the Winds, were driven different Ways. Passing *Clupea* and *Neapolis* with the Fleet, he continued for some time to coast along the Shore, leaving many Towns and Castles behind him.

III. WHEN he came before *Adrumetum*, where the Enemy had a Garrison commanded by *C. Considius* ;



*fidius*; and where *Cn. Piso* appeared upon the Shore towards *Clupea*, with the Cavalry of *Adrumetum*, and about two thousand *Moors*; having stopt a while facing the Port, 'till the rest of the Fleet should come up, he landed his Men, tho' their number at that time did not exceed three thousand Foot, and an hundred and fifty Horse. There encamping before the Town, he continued quiet in his Intrenchments, without offering any act of Hostility, or suffering his Men to plunder the Country. Meantime the Inhabitants manned the Walls, and assembled in great numbers before the Gates, to defend the Town, whose Garrison amounted to two Legions. *Cæsar* having taken a view of the Place, and thoroughly examined its situation on all sides, returned to his Camp. Some blamed his Conduct on this Occasion, and charged him with a considerable Oversight, in not appointing a place of Rendezvous to the Pilots and Captains of the Fleet, or at least not delivering them sealed Instructions, according to his usual Custom, which being opened at a certain time, might have directed them where to assemble. But in this *Cæsar* acted not without Design: for as he knew of no Port in *Africa* that was clear of the Enemy's Forces, and where the Fleet might rendezvous in Security, he chose to rely entirely upon Fortune, and land where Occasion offered.

IV. In the mean-time *L. Plancus*, one of *Cæsar's* Lieutenants, desired leave to treat with *Considius*, and try, if possible, to bring him to Reason. Leave being granted accordingly, he wrote him a Letter, and sent it into the Town by a Messenger. When the Messenger arrived, and presented the Letter; *Considius* demanding whence it came, and being told from *Cæsar* the Roman General, answered: that he

knew

knew no General of the *Roman* Forces but *Scipio*. Then commanding the Messenger to be immediately slain in his presence, he delivered the Letter unopened to a trusty Partizan, with Orders to carry it directly to *Scipio*.

V. CÆSAR had now continued a Day and a Night before the Town, without receiving any Answer from *Considius*; the rest of the Forces were not yet arrived; his Cavalry was very inconsiderable; the Troops he had with him were mostly new Levies, and not sufficiently numerous to invest the Place; neither did he think it adviseable, upon his first landing, to expose the Army to Wounds and Fatigue; more especially, as the Town was strongly fortified, extremely difficult of access, and the Garrison full of Spirits, in expectation of a great Body of Horse, who were said to be upon their March to join them. For all these Reasons he determined not to attempt a Siege; lest, while he pursued that Design, the Enemy's Cavalry should come behind and surround him. But as he was drawing off his Men, the Garrison made a sudden Sally; and *Juba's* Horse, whom he had sent to receive their Pay, happening just then to come up, they jointly took possession of the Camp *Cæsar* had left, and began to harass his Rear. This being perceived, the Legionaries immediately halted; and the Cavalry, tho' few in number, boldly charged the vast multitude of the Enemy. On this Occasion it was, that less than thirty *Gallick* Horse, by an incredible and astonishing effort of Valour, repulsed two thousand *Moors*, and drove them quite within the Town. Having thus compelled the Enemy to retire, and shelter themselves behind their Walls, *Cæsar* resumed his intended March: but observing that they often repeated their Sallies, re-  
newing

newing the Pursuit from time to time, and again flying when attacked by the Horse; he posted some veteran Cohorts, with part of the Cavalry in the rear, to cover his Retreat, and so proceeded slowly on his March. The farther he advanced from *Adrumetum*, the less eager were the *Numidians* to pursue. Mean-time Deputies arrived from the several Towns and Castles on the Road, offering to furnish him with Corn, and receive his Commands. Towards the Evening of that Day, which was the first of *January*, he reached *Ruspina*, and there fixed his Camp.

VI. THENCE he removed, and came before *Leptis*, a free City, and governed by its own Laws. Here he was also met by Deputies from the Town, who came in the name of the Inhabitants, to make an offer of their Submission and Services. Whereupon placing Centurions and a Guard before the Gates, to prevent the Soldiers from entering, or offering violence to any of the Inhabitants; he himself encamped towards the Shore, not far distant from the Town. Hither by accident arrived some of the Gallies and Transports, by whom he was informed, that the rest of the Fleet, uncertain what course to pursue, had been steering for *Utica*. This obliged him to keep with the Army near the Sea, and avoid marching into the inland Provinces, that he might be at hand to join his Troops upon their arrival. He likewise sent the Cavalry back to their Ships, probably to hinder the Country from being plundered, and ordered fresh Water to be carried to them on board. Mean-while the Rowers, who were employed in this Service, were suddenly and unexpectedly attacked by the *Moorish* Horse, who killed some, and wounded many with their Darts. For the manner of these Barbarians is, to lie in

ambush with their Horses among the Valleys, and suddenly lanch upon an Enemy; they seldom choos- ing to engage hand to hand in a Plain.

VII. In the mean time *Cæsar* dispatched Letters and Messengers into *Sardinia*, and the neighbouring Provinces, with Orders, as soon as the Letters came to hand, to send Supplies of Men, Corn, and warlike Stores; and having unloaded part of the Fleet, detached it with *Rabirius Posthumus* into *Sicily*, to bring over the second Embarkation. At the same time he ordered out ten Gallies, to get intelligence of the Transports that had missed their way, and maintain the freedom of the Sea. *C. Salustius Crispus*, the Prætor, was likewise sent out at the head of a Squadron, to seize *Cercina*, then in the hands of the Enemy, because he heard there was great store of Corn in that Island: In giving these Orders and Instructions, he used all possible Endeavours to leave no room for Excuse or Delay. Mean-while having informed himself, from the Deserters and Natives, of the condition of *Scipio* and his Followers; and understanding that they were at the whole Charge of maintaining *Juba's* Cavalry; he could not but pity the infatuation of Men, who thus rather chose to be Tributaries to the King of *Numidia*, than securely enjoy their Fortunes at home with their Fellow-Citizens.

VIII. THE third of *January* he decamped; and leaving six Cohorts at *Leptis*, under the command of *Saferna*, returned with the rest of the Forces to *Ruspina*, whence he had come the Day before. Here he deposited the Baggage of the Army; and marching out with a light Body of Troops to forage, ordered the Inhabitants to follow with their Horses and Carriages. Having by this means got together



a great quantity of Corn, he came back to *Ruspina*. His design was, as far as I can judge, that by keeping possession of the maritime Cities, and providing them with Garrisons, he might secure a Retreat for his Fleet.

IX. LEAVING therefore *P. Saserna*, the Brother of him who commanded at *Leptis*, to take charge of the Town with one Legion, and ordering all the Wood that could be found to be carried into the Place; he set out from *Ruspina* with seven Cohorts, part of the veteran Legions, who had behaved so well in the Fleet under *Sulpicius* and *Vatinius*; and marching directly for the Port, which lies at about two Miles distance, embarked with them in the Evening, without imparting his Intentions to the Army, who were extremely inquisitive concerning the General's Design. His departure occasioned the utmost Sadness and Conternation among the Troops: for being few in number, mostly new Levies, and those not all suffered to land; they saw themselves exposed upon a foreign Coast, to the mighty Forces of a crafty Nation, supported by an innumerable Cavalry. Nor had they any Resource in their present Circumstances, or expectation of safety in their own Conduct; but derived all their Hope from the Alacrity, Vigour, and wonderful Chearfulness, that appeared in the General's Countenance: for he was of an intrepid Spirit, and behaved with undaunted Resolution and Confidence. On his Conduct therefore they entirely relied, and promised themselves to a Man, that under so able and experienced a Leader, all Difficulties would vanish before them.

X. CÆSAR having continued the whole Night on board, about Day-break prepared to set sail;

when all on a sudden, the part of the Fleet that had given so much Concern, appeared unexpectedly in view. Wherefore ordering his Men to quit their Ships immediately, and receive the rest of the Troops in Arms upon the Shore; he made the new Fleet enter the Port with the utmost Diligence; and landing all the Forces, Horse and Foot, returned again to *Ruspina*. Here he established his Camp; and taking with him thirty Cohorts without Baggage, advanced into the Country to forage. Thus was *Cæsar's* Purpose at length discovered: that he meant, unknown to the Enemy, to have failed to the assistance of the Transports, that had missed their way, lest they should unexpectedly fall in with the *African* Fleet. Nor would he even impart his Design to his own Soldiers left behind in Garrison; from an Apprehension, that when they came to reflect upon their own weakness, and the strength of the Enemy, they might too much give way to Fear.

XI. *CÆSAR* had not marched above three miles from his Camp, when he was informed by his Scouts, and some advanced Parties of Horse, that the Enemy's Forces were in view. At the same time a great Cloud of Dust began to appear. Upon this Intelligence, *Cæsar* ordered all his Horse, of which he had at that time but a very small number, to advance; as likewise his Archers, only a few of whom had followed him from the Camp; and the Legions to march after him in order of Battle: while he went forward at the head of a small Party. Soon after, having discovered the Enemy at some distance, he commanded the Soldiers to repair to their Arms, and prepare for Battle. Their number in all did not exceed thirty Cohorts, with about four hundred Horse, and the Archers.

XII.

XII. MEAN-WHILE the Enemy, under the command of *Labienu*s, and the two *Pacidii*, drew up with a very large Front, consisting mostly of Horse, whom they intermixed with light-armed *Numidians* and Archers; forming themselves in such close order, that *Cæsar*'s Army at a distance mistook them all for Infantry; and strengthening their right and left with many Squadrons of Horse. *Cæsar* drew up his Army in one Line, obliged to it by the smallness of his numbers; covering his front with the Archers, and placing his Cavalry in the two Wings, with particular Instructions not to suffer themselves to be surrounded by the Enemy's numerous Horse; for he imagined that he was to have to do only with Infantry.

XIII. As both sides stood in expectation of the Signal, and *Cæsar* chose to continue without stirring from his Post, as being sensible, that with such few Troops, against so great a Force, he must depend more on Conduct and Contrivance than Strength; on a sudden the Enemy began to extend themselves, spread out upon the Hills on every side, and prepare to surround our Horse, who were hardly able to maintain their Ground against them. Mean-while both the main Bodies advancing to engage, the Enemy's Cavalry, intermixed with some light-armed *Numidians*, suddenly sprung forward, and attacked the Legions with a shower of Darts. Our Men preparing to return the Charge, their Horse retreated a little, while the Foot continued to maintain their Ground, 'till the others having rallied, came on again with fresh Vigour to sustain them.

XIV. *CÆSAR* perceiving that his Ranks were in danger of being broken by this new way of fighting,

(for our Foot, in pursuing the Enemy's Horse as they retreated, being forced to advance a considerable way beyond their Colours, were flanked by the light-armed *Numidians*; while at the same time they could do but little execution against the Cavalry, by reason of the quickness wherewith they retired,) gave express Orders, that no Soldier should advance above four Foot beyond the Ensigns. Mean-while *Labienus's* Cavalry confiding in their numbers, endeavoured to surround those of *Cæsar*; who being few in number, and overpowered by the multitude of the Enemy, were forced to give ground a little, their Horses being almost all wounded. The Enemy encouraged by this, pressed on more and more; so that in an instant the Legions being surrounded on all sides, were obliged to cast themselves into an Orb, and fight as if inclosed with Barriers.

XV. *LABIENUS* with his Head uncovered, advanced on horseback to the front of the Battle to encourage his Men. Sometimes addressing *Cæsar's* Legions: "Soho you raw Soldiers there, says he, "why so fierce? Has he infatuated you too with "his Words? Truly he has brought you into a "fine Condition: I pity you sincerely." Upon this one of the Soldiers: "I am none of your "raw Warriors, but a Veteran of the tenth Legion." Where's your Standard? replied *Labienus*. "I'll soon make you sensible who I am, answered "the Soldier." Then pulling off his Helmet to discover himself, he threw a Javelin with all his strength at *Labienus*, which wounding his Horse severely in the Breast: "Know, *Labienus*, says he, "that this Dart was thrown by a Soldier of the "tenth Legion." However, the whole Army was not a little daunted, especially the new Levies; and began



began to cast their Eyes upon *Cæsar*, minding nothing for the present but to defend themselves from the Enemy's Darts.

XVI. *CÆSAR* mean-while perceiving the Enemy's Design, endeavoured to extend his order of Battle as much as possible, directing the Cohorts to face about alternately to the right and left. By this means he broke the Enemy's Circle with his right and left Wings; and attacking one part of them thus separated from the other, with his Horse and Foot, at last put them to flight. He pursued them but a little way, fearing an Ambuscade, and returned again to his own Men. The same was done by the other Division of *Cæsar's* Horse and Foot; so that the Enemy being driven back on all sides, he retreated towards his Camp in order of Battle.

XVII. MEAN-TIME *M. Petreius*, and *Cn. Piso*, with eleven hundred select *Numidian* Horse, and a considerable Body of Foot, arrived to the assistance of the Enemy: who recovering from their Terror upon this Reinforcement, and again resuming Courage, fell upon the rear of the Legions as they retreated, and endeavoured to hinder them from reaching their Camp. *Cæsar* perceiving this, ordered his Men to wheel about and renew the Battle. As the Enemy still pursued their former Plan, and avoided a close Engagement; *Cæsar* considering that the Horses had not yet recovered the fatigue of their late Voyage; that they were besides weakened with Thirst, Weariness, and Wounds, and of course unfit for a vigorous and long Pursuit, which even the time of the Day would not allow, ordered both Horse and Foot to fall at once briskly upon the Enemy, and not slacken the Pursuit 'till they had driven them quite beyond the farthest Hills, and

taken possession of them themselves. Accordingly upon a Signal given, the Enemy fighting in a faint and careless manner, he suddenly charged them with his Horse and Foot; who in a moment driving them from the Field, and over the adjoining Hill, kept possession of that Post for some time, and then retired slowly in order of Battle to their Camp. The Enemy, who in this last Attack had been very rudely handled, thought proper likewise to do the same.

XVIII. THE Action being over, a great number of Deserters of all kinds flocked to *Cæsar's* Camp, besides multitudes of Horse and Foot that were made Prisoners. By them we learnt, that it was the design of the Enemy to have astonished our raw Troops with their new and uncommon manner of fighting, and after surrounding them with their Cavalry, to have cut them to pieces, as they had done *Curio*; and that they had marched against us expressly with that Intention. *Labienus* had even said in the Council of War, that he would lead such a numerous Body of Troops against us, as should fatigue us with the very Slaughter, and defeat us even in the bosom of Victory; for he relied more on the Number than the Valour of his Troops. He had heard of the Mutiny of the veteran Legions at *Rome*, and their refusal to go into *Africa*; and was likewise well assured of the Fidelity of his Troops, who had served three Years under him in *Africa*. He had a great number of *Numidian* Cavalry and light-armed Troops, besides the *Gallick* and *German* Horse, whom he had drawn together out of the remains of *Pompey's* Army, and carried over with him from *Brundisium*; he had likewise the Freed-men raised in the Country, and trained to fight on horse-back; and the multitude of *Juba's* Forces, his hundred and twenty Elephants, his innumerable

numerable Cavalry and Legionaries, amounting to above twelve thousand. Emboldened by the Hope such mighty Forces raised in him; on the fourth of *January*, six Days after *Cæsar's* Arrival, he came against him with sixteen hundred *Gallick* and *German* Horse, nine hundred under *Petreius*, eight thousand *Numidians*, four times that number of light-armed Foot, with a multitude of Archers and Slingers. The Battle lasted from eleven 'till Sun-set, during which *Petreius* receiving a dangerous Wound, was obliged to quit the Field.

XIX. MEAN-TIME *Cæsar* fortified his Camp with much greater care, reinforced the Guards, and threw up two Intrenchments; one from *Ruspina*, quite to the Sea; the other from his Camp to the Sea likewise; to secure the Communication, and receive Supplies without Danger. He landed a great number of Darts and military Engines, armed part of the Mariners, *Gauls*, *Rhodians*, and others, that after the example of the Enemy, he might have a number of light-armed Troops to intermix with his Cavalry. He likewise strengthened his Army with a great number of *Syrian* and *Iturean* Archers, whom he drew from the Fleet into his Camp: for he understood, that within three Days *Scipio* was expected with all his Forces, consisting of eight Legions, and four thousand Horse. At the same time he established Work-shops, made a great number of Darts and Arrows, provided himself with leaden Bullets and Palisades, wrote to *Sicily* for Hurdles and Wood to make Rams, because he had none in *Africa*, and likewise gave Orders for sending Corn; for the Harvest in that Country was like to be inconsiderable, the Enemy having taken all the Labourers into their Service the Year before, and stored up the Grain in a few  
for-

fortified Towns, after demolishing the rest, forcing the Inhabitants into their garrisoned Places, and laying waste the whole Country.

XX. IN this Necessity, by soothing the People, he obtained a small Supply, and husbanded it with care. Mean-time he was very exact in visiting the Works, and relieving the Guards. *Labienus* sent his Sick and Wounded, of which the number was very considerable, in Waggon to *Adrumetum*. Meanwhile *Cæsar's* Transports, unacquainted with the Coast, or where their General had landed, wandered up and down in great Uncertainty; and being attacked one after another by the Enemy's Coasters, were for the most part either taken or burnt. *Cæsar* being informed of this, stationed his Fleet along the Coast and Islands, for the security of his Convoys.

XXI. MEAN-WHILE *M. Cato*, who commanded in *Utica*, never ceased urging and exhorting young *Pompey*, in Words to this effect: "Your Father, when he was at your Age, and observed the Commonwealth oppressed by wicked and daring Men, and the honest Party either slain, or driven by Banishment from their Country and Relations; incited by the greatness of his Mind, and the love of Glory; tho' then very young, and only a private Man, had yet the Courage to rally the remains of his Father's Army, and deliver Rome from the Yoke of Slavery and Tyranny under which it groaned. He also recovered *Sicily, Africa, Numidia, Mauritania*, with amazing Dispatch; and by that means gained an illustrious and extensive Reputation among all Nations, and triumphed at three and twenty while but a Roman Knight. Nor did he enter upon the Administration

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" tion of publick Affairs, distinguished by the  
 " shining Exploits of his Father, or the Fame and  
 " Reputation of his Ancestors, or the Honours  
 " and Dignities of the State. You, on the con-  
 " trary, possessed of these Honours, and the Re-  
 " putation acquired by your Father; sufficiently  
 " distinguished by your own Industry and greatness  
 " of Mind; will you not bestir yourself, join your  
 " Father's Friends, and vindicate your own Liber-  
 " ty, that of the Commonwealth, and of every  
 " good and honest Man." The Youth, roused by  
 the Remonstrances of that grave and worthy Sena-  
 tor, got together about thirty sail of all sorts, of  
 which some few were Ships of War, and sailing  
 from *Utica* to *Mauritania*, invaded the Kingdom of  
*Bogud*. And leaving his Baggage behind him, with  
 an Army of two thousand Men, partly Freemen,  
 partly Slaves, some armed, some not, approached  
 the Town of *Ascurum*, in which the King had a  
 Garrison. The Inhabitants suffered him to advance  
 to the very Walls and Gates; when sallying out all  
 on a sudden, they drove him quite back to his  
 Ships. This ill Success determined him to leave  
 that Coast, nor did he afterwards land in any Place,  
 but steered directly for the *Balearean* Isles.

XXII. MEAN-TIME *Scipio*, leaving a strong Gar-  
 rison at *Utica*, began his March with the Forces we  
 have described above, and encamped first at *Adru-*  
*metum*; when after a stay of a few Days, setting  
 out in the Night, he joined *Petreius* and *Labienu*s,  
 lodging all the Forces in one Camp, about three  
 Miles distant from *Cæsar's*. Their Cavalry were  
 making continual Excursions to our very Works,  
 intercepted those who ventured too far in quest of  
 Wood or Water, and obliged us to keep within  
 our Intrenchments. This soon occasioned a great  
 scarcity

scarcity of Provisions among *Cæsar's* Men, because no Supplies had yet arrived from *Sicily* or *Sardinia*. The Season too was dangerous for Navigation, and he did not possess above six Miles every way in *Africa*, which also greatly straitened him for want of Forage. The veteran Soldiers and Cavalry, who had been engaged in many Wars both by Sea and Land, and often struggled with Wants and Misfortunes of this kind, gathering Sea-weed, and washing it in fresh Water, by that means subsisted their Horses and Cattle.

XXIII. WHILE things were in this situation, King *Juba* being informed of *Cæsar's* Difficulties, and the few Troops he had with him, resolved not to allow him time to remedy his Wants, or increase his Army. Accordingly he left his Kingdom at the head of a great Body of Horse and Foot, and marched to join his Allies. Mean-time *P. Silius*, and King *Bogud*, having Intelligence of *Juba's* March; joined their Forces, entered *Numidia*, and laying siege to *Cirta*, the most opulent City in the Country, carried it in a few Days; with two others belonging to the *Getulians*. They had offered the Inhabitants leave to depart in safety, if they would peaceably deliver up the Towns: but these Conditions being rejected, they were taken by storm, and the Citizens all put to the Sword. They then fell to ravaging the Country, and laying all the Cities under Contribution: of which *Juba* having Intelligence; tho' he was upon the point of joining *Scipio* and the other Chiefs, he determined to return to the Relief of his own Kingdom, rather than run the hazard of being driven from it while he was assisting others, and perhaps after all miscarry too in his Designs against *Cæsar*. He therefore retired with his Troops, leaving only thirty Elephants behind him,

him, and marched to the Relief of his own Cities and Territories.

XXIV. MEAN-WHILE *Cæsar*, knowing that the Province still doubted of his Arrival, and imagined that not himself in person, but some of his Lieutenants had come over with the Forces lately sent; dispatched Letters to all the several States, to inform them of his Presence. Upon this many Persons of Rank fled to his Camp, complaining of the Barbarity and Cruelty of the Enemy. Hitherto he had continued quiet in his Post; but touched with their Fears, and a sense of their Sufferings, he resolved to take the Field as soon as the Weather would permit, and he could draw his Troops together. He immediately dispatched Letters into *Sicily*, to *Allienus* and *Rabirius Posthumus* the Prætors, that without Delay or Excuse, either of the Winter or the Winds, they must send over the rest of the Troops, to save *Africa* from utter Ruin; because without some speedy Remedy, not a single House would be left standing, nor any thing escape the Fury and Ravages of the Enemy. But such was his Impatience, and so long did the time appear, that from the Day the Letters were sent, he complained without ceasing of the Delay of the Fleet, and had his Eyes Night and Day turned towards the Sea. Nor ought we to wonder at his Behaviour on this occasion: for he saw the Villages burnt, the Country laid waste, the Cattle destroyed, the Towns plundered, the principal Citizens either slain or put in Chains, and their Children dragged into Servitude under the Name of Hostages; nor could he, amidst all this Scene of Misery, afford any Relief to those who implored his Protection, because of the small Number of his Forces. He kept the Soldiers however at work upon the Intrenchments,  
built

built Forts and Redoubts, and carried on his Lines quite to the Sea.

XXV. MEAN-WHILE *Scipio* made use of the following Contrivance for training and disciplining his Elephants. He drew up two Parties in order of Battle; one of Slingers, who were to act as Enemies, and discharge small Stones against the Elephants; and fronting them, the Elephants themselves, in one Line, with his whole Army behind them in Battle-Array; that when the Enemy, by their Discharge of Stones, had frightened the Elephants, and forced them to turn upon their own Men, they might again be made to face the Enemy, by the Volleys of Stones from the Army behind them. The Work however went on but slowly, because these Animals, after many Years teaching, are often no less prejudicial to those who bring them into the Field, than to the Enemy against whom they were intended.

XXVI. WHILST the two Generals were thus employed near *Ruspina*, *C. Virgilius Prietorius*, who commanded in *Thapsus*, a maritime City, observing some of *Cæsar's* Transports that had missed their way, uncertain where he had landed or held his Camp; and thinking that a fair Opportunity offered of destroying them, manned a Galley that was in the Port with Soldiers and Archers, and joining with it a few armed Barks, began to pursue *Cæsar's* Ships. Tho' he was repulsed on several Occasions he still pursued his Design, and at last fell in with one, on board of which were two young *Spaniards*, of the Name of *Titus*, who were Tribunes of the fifth Legion, and whose Father had been made a Senator by *Cæsar*. There was with them a Centurion of the same Legion, *T. Salienus* by Name, who had



had invested the House of *M. Messala*, *Cæsar's* Lieutenant, at *Messana*, and expressed himself in very seditious Language, nay even seized the Money and Ornaments destined for *Cæsar's* Triumph, and for that reason dreaded his Resentment. He, conscious of his Demerits, persuaded the young Men to surrender themselves to *Virgilius*, by whom they were sent under a strong Guard to *Scipio*, and three Days after put to death. It is said that the elder *Titus* begged of the Centurions who were charged with the Execution, that he might be first put to death, which being easily granted, they both suffered according to their Sentence.

XXVII. THE Cavalry that mounted Guard in the two Camps were continually skirmishing with one another. Sometimes too the German and Gallick Cavalry of *Labienus* entered into Discourse with those of *Cæsar*. Mean-time *Labienus*, with a Party of Horse, endeavoured to surprise the Town of *Leptis*, which *Saserna* guarded with three Cohorts; but was easily repulsed, because the Town was strongly fortified, and well provided with warlike Engines. But at several times he renewed the Attempt; one Day, as a strong Squadron of the Enemy had posted themselves before the Gate, their Officer being slain by an Arrow discharged from a Scorpion, the rest were terrified and took to flight; by which means the Town was delivered from any further Attempts.

XXVIII. AT the same time *Scipio* daily drew up his Troops in order of Battle, about three hundred Paces from his Camp; and after continuing in Arms the greatest part of the Day, retreated again to his Camp in the Evening. This he did several times, no one mean-while offering to stir out of *Cæsar's*

*far's* Camp, or approach his Forces; which Fortbearance and Tranquillity gave him such a Contempt of *Cæsar* and his Army, that drawing out all his Forces, and his thirty Elephants with Towers on their Backs, and extending his Horse and Foot as wide as possible, he approached quite up to *Cæsar's* Intrenchments. Upon this *Cæsar* quietly, and without Noise or Confusion, recalled to his Camp all that were gone out either in quest of Forage, Wood, or to work upon the Fortifications: he likewise ordered the Cavalry that were upon Guard, not to quit their Post 'till the Enemy were within reach of Dart; and if they then persisted to advance, to retire in good Order within the Intrenchments. The rest of the Cavalry were enjoined to hold themselves in readiness upon the first notice. These Orders were not given by himself in person, or after viewing the Disposition of the Enemy from the Rampart: but sitting in his Tent, and informing himself of their Motions by his Scouts, such was his consummate Knowledge in the Art of War, that he gave all the necessary Directions by his Officers. He very well knew, that, whatever Confidence the Enemy might have in their Numbers, they would yet never dare to attack the Camp of a General, who had so often repulsed, terrified, and put them to flight; who had frequently pardoned and granted them their Lives; and whose very Name had Weight and Authority enough to intimidate their Army. He was besides well intrenched with a high Rampart and deep Ditch, the Approaches to which were rendered so difficult, by the sharp Spikes which he had disposed in a very artful manner, that they were even sufficient of themselves to keep off the Enemy. He was likewise well provided with military Engines, and all sorts of Weapons necessary for a vigorous Defence, which compensated in some measure

measure for the fewness of his Troops, and the inexperience of his new Levies. His Forbearance therefore did not proceed from Fear, or any distrust of the Valour of his Troops; but because he was unwilling to purchase a bloody Victory over the shattered Remains of his dispersed Enemies, after such a series of great Actions, Conquests, and Triumphs; and therefore resolved to bear their Insults and Bravadoes, till the Arrival of his veteran Legions by the second Embarkation.

XXIX. *Scipio*, after a short stay before the Intrenchments, as if in contempt of *Cæsar*, withdrew slowly to his Camp; and having called the Soldiers together, enlarged upon the Terror and Despair of the Enemy: when encouraging his Men, he assured them of a compleat Victory in a short time. *Cæsar* made his Soldiers again return to the Works, and under pretence of fortifying his Camp, inured the new Levies to Labour and Fatigue. Mean-time the *Numidians* and *Getulians* deserted daily from *Scipio's* Camp. Part returned home; part came over to *Cæsar*, because they understood he was related to *C. Marius*, from whom their Ancestors had received considerable Favours. Of these he selected some of distinguished Rank, and sent them home with Letters to their Countrymen, exhorting them to levy Troops for their own defence, and not listen to the Suggestions of his Enemies.

XXX. WHILE these things pass near *Ruspina*, Deputies from *Acilla*, and all the neighbouring Towns, arrive in *Cæsar's* Camp, with offers of Submission, and to supply him with Corn and other Necessaries, if he would send Garrisons to protect them from the Enemy. *Cæsar* readily complied with their Demands, and having assigned a Gar-



rison, sent *C. Messius*, who had been *Ædile*, to command in *Acilla*. Upon Intelligence of this, *Considius Longus*, who was at *Adrumetum* with two Legions and seven hundred Horse, leaving a Garrison in that City, posted to *Acilla* at the head of eight Cohorts: but *Messius* having accomplished his March with great expedition, arrived first at the Place. When *Considius* therefore approached, and found *Cæsar's* Garrison in possession of the Town, not daring to make any Attempt, he returned again to *Adrumetum*. But some Days after, *Labienu*s having sent him a Reinforcement of Horse, he found himself in a condition to renew the Siege.

XXXI. MUCH about the same time *C. Sallustius Crispus*, who, as we have seen, had been sent a few Days before to *Cercina* with a Fleet, arrived in that Island. Upon which *C. Decimus* the Quæstor, who, with a strong Party of his own Domesticks, had charge of the Magazines erected there, went on board a small Vessel and fled. *Sallustius* mean-while was well received by the *Cercinates*, and finding great store of Corn in the Island, loaded all the Ships then in the Port, whose number was very considerable, and dispatched them to *Cæsar's* Camp. At the same time *Allienus* the Proconsul, put on board the Transports at *Lilybæum*, the thirteenth and fourteenth Legions, with eight hundred Gallick Horse, and a thousand Archers and Slingers, and sent them over into *Africa*. This Fleet meeting with a favourable Wind, arrived in four Days at *Ruspina*, where *Cæsar* had his Camp. Thus he experienced a double Pleasure on this Occasion, receiving at one and the same time, both a supply of Provisions, and a reinforcement of Troops; which animated the Soldiers, and delivered them from the apprehensions of Want. Having landed the Legions and Cavalry,



valry, he allowed them some time to recover from the Fatigue and Sickness of their Voyage, and then distributed them into the Forts, and along the Works.

XXXII. *Scipio* and the other Generals were greatly surprised at *Cæsar's* Conduct, and could not conceive how one, who had always been forward and active in War, should all of a sudden change his Measures, which they therefore suspected must proceed from some very powerful Reasons. Uneasy and disturbed to see him so patient, they made choice of two *Getulians*, on whose Fidelity they thought they could rely; and promising them great Rewards, sent them under the name of Deserters, to get Intelligence of *Cæsar's* Designs. When they were brought before him, they begged they might have leave to speak without offence; which being granted: "It is now a long time, great General, said they, since many of us *Getulians*, Clients of *C. Marius*, and almost all *Roman* Citizens of the fourth and sixth Legions, have wished for an Opportunity to come over to you; but have hitherto been prevented by the Guards of *Numidian* Horse. Now we gladly embrace the Occasion, being sent by *Scipio* under the name of Deserters, to discover what Ditches and Traps you have prepared for his Elephants, how you intend to oppose these Animals, and what Dispositions you are making for Battle." *Cæsar* commended them, rewarded them liberally, and sent them to the other Deserters. We had soon a Proof of the truth of what they had advanced; for next Day a great many Soldiers of these Legions mentioned by the *Getulians*, deserted to *Cæsar's* Camp.

XXXIII. WHILST Affairs were in this posture at *Ruspina*, *M. Cato*, who commanded in *Utica*, was daily enlisting Freed-men, *Africans*, Slaves, and all that were of age to bear Arms, and sending them without intermission to *Scipio's* Camp. Meanwhile Deputies from the Town of *Tisdrā* came to *Cæsar*, to inform him, that some *Italian* Merchants had brought three hundred thousand Bushels of Corn into that City; and to demand a Garrison, as well for their own Defence, as to secure the Corn. *Cæsar* thanked the Deputies, promised to send the Garrison they desired; and having encouraged them, sent them back to their Fellow-citizens. Mean-time *P. Silius* entered *Numidia* with his Troops, and made himself master of a Castle situated on a Mountain, where *Juba* had laid up a great quantity of Provisions, and other things necessary for carrying on the War.

XXXIV. CÆSAR having increased his Forces with two veteran Legions, and all the Cavalry and light-armed Troops that had arrived in the second Embarkation, detached six Transports to *Lilybæum*, to bring over the rest of the Army. On the twenty-seventh of *January*, ordering the Scouts and Lic-tors to attend him at six in the Evening, he drew out all the Legions at midnight, and directed his March towards *Ruspina*, where he had a Garrison, and which had first declared in his favour, no one knowing or having the least suspicion of his Design. Thence he continued his Rout by the left of the Camp along the Sea, and passed a little declivity, which opened into a fine Plain; extending fifteen miles, and bordered upon a chain of Mountains of moderate height, that formed a kind of Theatre. In this Ridge were some Hills that rose higher than the

the rest, where Forts and Watch-towers had formerly been erected, and at the farthest of which *Scipio's* Out-guards were posted.

XXXV. *CÆSAR* having gained the Ridge, began to raise Redoubts upon the several Eminences, which he executed in less than half an Hour. When he was near the last, which bordered on the Enemy's Camp, and where, as we have said, *Scipio* had his Out-guard of *Numidians*; he stopped a moment: and having taken a view of the Ground, and posted his Cavalry in the most commodious situation, he ordered the Legions to throw up an Intrenchment along the middle of the Ridge, from the Place at which he was arrived, to that whence he set out. This being observed by *Scipio* and *Labienus*, they drew all their Cavalry out of the Camp, formed them in order of Battle; and advancing about a thousand Paces, posted their Infantry by way of a second Line, somewhat less than half a Mile from their Camp.

XXXVI. *CÆSAR* unmoved by the appearance of the Enemy's Forces, encouraged his Men to go on with the Work. But when he perceived that they were within fifteen hundred Paces of the Intrenchment, and that their design was to interrupt and disturb the Soldiers, and oblige him to draw them off from the Work: he ordered a Squadron of *Spanish* Cavalry, sustained by some light-armed Infantry, to attack the *Numidian* Guard upon the nearest Eminence, and drive them from that Post. They easily possessed themselves of the Place, the *Numidians* being partly killed, and partly made Prisoners. This being perceived by *Labienus*, that he might the more effectually succour the Fugitives, he wheeled off almost the whole right Wing of the



Horſe. *Cæſar* waited 'till he was at a conſiderable diſtance from his own Men, and then detached his left Wing to intercept his return.

XXXVII. In the Plain where this happened was a large Villa with four Turrets, which prevented *Labienus* from ſeeing that he was ſurrounded. He had therefore no apprehenſion of the approach of *Cæſar*'s Horſe, 'till he found himſelf charged in the rear; which ſtruck ſuch a ſudden terror into the *Numidian* Cavalry, that they immediately betook themſelves to flight. The *Gauls* and *Germans* who ſtood their Ground, being ſurrounded on all ſides, were entirely cut off. This being perceived by *Scipio*'s Legions, who were drawn up in order of Battle before the Camp, they fled in the utmoſt Terror and Confuſion. *Scipio* and his Forces being driven from the Plain and the Hills, *Cæſar* founded a Retreat, and ordered all the Cavalry to retire behind the Works. When the Field was cleared, he could not forbear admiring the huge Bodies of the *Gauls* and *Germans*, who partly induced by the Authority of *Labienus*, had followed him out of *Gaul*; partly had been drawn over by Promiſes and Rewards. Some being made Priſoners in the Battle with *Curio*, and having their Lives granted them, continued faithful out of Gratitude. Their Bodies of ſurpriſing ſhape and largeneſs, lay ſcattered all over the Plain.

XXXVIII. NEXT Day *Cæſar* drew all his Forces together, and formed them in order of Battle upon the Plain. *Scipio* diſcouraged by ſo unexpected a Check, and the numbers of his wounded and ſlain, kept within his Lines. *Cæſar* with his Army in Battalia, marched along the roots of the Hills, and gradually approached his Trenches. The Legions  
were



were by this time got within a mile of *Uzita*, a Town possessed by *Scipio*, whence he had his Water, and other Conveniences for his Army. Resolving therefore to preserve it at all hazards, he brought forth his whole Army, and drew them up in four Lines, forming the first of Cavalry, supported by Elephants with Castles on their Backs. *Cæsar* believing that *Scipio* approached with design to give Battle, continued where he was posted not far from the Town, *Scipio* mean-while having the Town in the center of his front, extended his two Wings where were his Elephants, in full view of our Army.

XXXIX. WHEN *Cæsar* had waited 'till Sun-set, without finding that *Scipio* stirred from his Post ; who seemed rather disposed to defend himself by his advantageous Situation, than hazard a Battle in the open Field ; he did not think proper to advance farther that Day, because the Enemy had a strong Garrison of *Numidians* in the Town, which besides covered the center of their front ; and he foresaw great Difficulty in forming at the same time an Attack upon the Town, and opposing their right and left with the advantage of the Ground : especially as the Soldiers had continued under Arms, and fasted since Morning. Having therefore led back his Troops to their Camp, he resolved next Day to extend his Lines nearer the Town.

XL. MEAN-TIME *Confidius*, who besieged eight mercenary Cohorts of *Numidians* and *Getulians* in *Acilla*, where *C. Messius* commanded ; after continuing long before the Place, and seeing all his Works burnt and destroyed by the Enemy : upon the Report of the late Battle of the Cavalry ; set fire to his Corn, destroyed his Wine, Oil, and other

Stores; and abandoning the Siege of *Acilla*, divided his Forces with *Scipio*, and retired thro' the Kingdom of *Juba* to *Adrumetum*.

XLI. MEAN-WHILE one of the Transports belonging to the second Embarkation, in which were *Q. Cominius* and *L. Ticida* a Roman Knight, being separated from the rest of the Fleet in a Storm, and driven to *Thapsus*, was taken by *Virgilius*, and all the Persons on board sent to *Scipio*. A three-benched Galley likewise, belonging to the same Fleet, being forced by the Winds to *Ægimurum*, was intercepted by the Squadron under *Varus* and *M. Octavius*. In this Vessel were some veteran Soldiers, with a Centurion, and a few new Levies; whom *Varus* treated respectfully, and sent under a Guard to *Scipio*. When they came into his presence, and appeared before his Tribunal: "I am satisfied," said he, it is not by our own Inclination, but at the Instigation of your wicked General, that you impiously wage War on your Fellow-citizens, and on the honestest part of the Republick. If therefore, now that Fortune has put you in our power, you will take this Opportunity to unite with the good Citizens, in the defence of the Common-weal; I not only promise you your Life, but you may expect to be rewarded. Let me know what you think of the Proposal." *Scipio* having ended his Speech, and expecting a thankful return to so gracious an Offer, permitted them to reply: when the Centurion, who on this Occasion was Spokesman, thus addressed him: "*Scipio*, says he, (for I cannot give you the Appellation of General) I return you my hearty Thanks for the good Treatment you are willing to show to Prisoners of War; and perhaps I might accept of your Kindness, were it not to be

“ be purchased at the expence of an horrible  
 “ Crime. What! shall I carry Arms and fight  
 “ against *Cæsar* my General, under whom I have  
 “ served as Centurion; and against his victorious  
 “ Army, to whose Renown I have so many Years  
 “ endeavoured to contribute by my Valour? ’Tis  
 “ what I will never do; and even advise you not to  
 “ push the War any farther. You know not what  
 “ Troops you have to deal with, nor the difference  
 “ ’twixt them and yours; of which, if you please,  
 “ I will give you an indisputable Instance. Do you  
 “ pick out the best Cohort you have in your Army;  
 “ and give me only ten of my Comrades, which  
 “ are now your Prisoners, to engage them. You  
 “ shall see, by the Success, what you are to ex-  
 “ pect from your Soldiers.” When the Centu-  
 rion had made this Reply, *Scipio* incensed at his  
 Boldness, and resenting the Affront, made a Sign  
 to some of his Officers to kill him on the Spot,  
 which was immediately put in execution. At the  
 same time ordering the other veteran Soldiers to be  
 separated from the new Levies: “ Carry away,  
 “ said he, these Villains, pampered with the Blood  
 “ of their Fellow-citizens.” Accordingly they  
 were conducted without the Rampart, and cruelly  
 massacred. The new-raised Soldiers were distribut-  
 ed among his Legions; and *Cominius* and *Ticida* for-  
 bid to appear in his presence. *Cæsar* concerned for  
 this Misfortune, broke with Ignominy the Officers,  
 whose Instructions being to secure the Coast, and  
 advance to a certain distance into the main Sea, to  
 protect and facilitate the approach of the Trans-  
 ports, had been negligent on that important  
 Station.

XLIII. ABOUT this time a most incredible Ac-  
 cident befel *Cæsar*’s Army. For the Pleiades being  
 set,



set; about nine at Night a terrible Storm arose, attended with Hail of an uncommon size. But what contributed to render this Misfortune the greater was, that *Cæsar* had not, like other Generals, put his Troops into Winter-quarters; but was every three or four Days changing his Camp, to gain ground on the Enemy: which keeping the Soldiers continually employed, they were utterly unprovided of any Conveniences to protect them from the Inclemency of the Weather. Besides, neither Officer nor Soldier had been permitted to take their Equipages or Utensils with them, nor so much as a Vessel, or a single Slave, when they parted from *Sicily*: and so far had they been from acquiring or providing themselves with any thing in *Africa*, that by reason of the great scarcity of Provisions, they had even consumed their former Stores. Impoverished by these Accidents, very few of them had Tents: the rest had made themselves a kind of Covering, either by spreading their Cloaths, or with Mats and Rushes. But these being soon penetrated by the Storm and Hail, the Soldiers had no Resource left, but wandered up and down the Camp, covering their Heads with their Bucklers, to shelter them from the Weather. In a short time the whole Camp was under Water, the Fires extinguished, and all their Provisions washed away or spoil'd. The same Night, the Shafts of the Javelins belonging to the fifth Legion of their own accord took fire.

XLIII. In the mean-time King *Juba*, having received Advice of the Horse-engagement with *Scipio*, and being earnestly solicited by Letters from that General to come to his Assistance; left *Sabura* at home with part of the Army to carry on the War against *Sitius*: and imagining his Name and Presence



sence sufficient to free *Scipio's* Troops from the dread they had of *Cæsar*, began his March with three Legions, eight hundred Horse, a Body of *Numidian* Cavalry, great numbers of light-armed Infantry, and thirty Elephants. When he arrived, he lodged himself with all his Forces in a separate Camp, at no great distance from that of *Scipio*. *Cæsar's* Army had for some time past been possessed with no small Terror of *Juba's* Forces; and the report of his Approach had increased the Inquietude, and produced a general Suspence and Expectation among the Troops. But his Arrival, and the appearance of his Camp, soon dispelled all these Apprehensions; and they as much despised the King of *Mauritania*, now he was present, as they had feared him, when at a distance. It was easy to be seen, however, that the Reinforcement brought by the King, greatly raised the Courage and Confidence of *Scipio*. For next Day, drawing out all his own and the Royal Forces, with sixty Elephants; he ranged them in order of Battle with great Ostentation, advanced a little beyond his Intrenchments, and after a short stay retreated to his Camp.

XLIV. *CÆSAR* knowing that *Scipio* had received all the Supplies he expected, and judging he would no longer decline coming to an Engagement; began to advance along the Ridge with his Forces, extend his Lines, secure them with Redoubts, and possess himself of the Eminences between him and *Scipio*. The Enemy confiding in their Numbers seized a neighbouring Hill, and thereby prevented the progress of our Works. *Labiens* had formed the design of securing this Post, and as it lay nearest his Quarters, soon got thither. *Cæsar* had the same Project in view: but before he could reach the Place, was necessitated to pass a broad and deep Valley,

Valley, of rugged Descent, broken with Caves, and beyond which was a thick Grove of Olives. *Labienus* perceiving that *Cæsar* must march this way, and having a perfect Knowledge of the Country, placed himself in Ambush with the light-armed Foot, and part of the Cavalry. At the same time he disposed some Horse behind the Hills, that when he should fall unexpectedly upon *Cæsar*'s Foot, they might suddenly advance from behind the Mountain. Thus the Enemy attacked in Front and Rear, surrounded with danger on all sides, and unable either to retreat or advance, would, he imagined, fall an easy Prey to his victorious Troops. *Cæsar* who had no suspicion of the Ambuscade, sent his Cavalry before: and arriving at the Place; *Labienus*'s Men, either forgetting or neglecting the Orders of their General, or fearing to be trampled to death in the Ditch by our Cavalry, began to issue in small Parties from the Rock, and ascend the Hill. *Cæsar*'s Horse pursuing them, slew some, and took others Prisoners: then making towards the Hill, drove thence *Labienus*'s Detachment, and immediately took possession. *Labienus*, followed by a small Party of Horse, escaped with great difficulty.

XLV. THE Cavalry having thus cleared the Mountain, *Cæsar* resolved to intrench himself there, and distributed the Work to the Legions. He then ordered two Legions of Communication to be drawn from the greater Camp, cross the Plain on the side of *Uzita*, which stood between him and the Enemy, and was garrison'd by a Detachment of *Scipio*'s Army. These Lines were so contrived, as to meet at the right and left Angles of the Town. His Design in this Work was, that when he approached the Town with his Troops, and began to attack it, these Lines might secure his Flanks, and

and hinder the Enemy's Horse from surrounding him, and compelling him to abandon the Siege. It likewise gave his Men more frequent Opportunities of conversing with the Enemy, and facilitated the means of Desertion to such as favoured his Cause; many of whom had already come over, though not without great danger to themselves. He wanted also, by drawing nearer the Enemy, to see how they stood inclined to a Battle. Add to all these Reasons, that the Place itself being very low, he might there sink some Wells, whereas before, he had a long and troublesome Way to send for Water. While the Legions were employed in these Works, part of the Army stood ready drawn up before the Trenches, and had frequent Skirmishes with the *Nusidian* Horse and light-armed Foot.

XLVI. In the Evening, when *Cæsar* was drawing off his Legions from the Works; *Juba*, *Scipio*, and *Labienus*, at the head of all their Horse and light-armed Foot, fell furiously upon his Cavalry: who overwhelmed by the sudden and general Attack of so great a Multitude, were forced to give ground a little. But the Event was very different from what the Enemy expected: for *Cæsar* leading back his Legions to the assistance of his Cavalry, they immediately rallied, turned upon the *Nusidians*, and charging them vigorously whilst they were dispersed and disordered with the Pursuit, drove them with great Slaughter to the King's Camp. And had not Night intervened, and the Dust raised by the Wind obstructed the Prospect; *Juba* and *Labienus* would both have fallen into *Cæsar*'s hands, and their whole Cavalry and light-armed Infantry been cut off. Mean-while *Scipio*'s Men, of the fourth and sixth Legions, left him in crowds, some deserting to *Cæsar*'s Camp, others flying to such  
Places



Places as were most convenient for them. *Curio's* Horse likewise, distrusting *Scipio* and his Troops, followed the same Counsel.

XLVII. WHILE these things passed near *Uzita*, the ninth and tenth Legions sailing in Transports from *Sicily*; when they came before *Ruspina*, observing *Cæsar's* Ships that lay at Anchor about *Thapsus*, and fearing it might be the Enemy's Fleet stationed there to intercept them, they imprudently stood out to Sea; and after being long tossed by the Winds, Provisions and Water failing them, at last arrived at *Cæsar's* Camp.

XLVIII. SOON after they were landed, *Cæsar* calling to mind their licentious Behaviour in *Italy*, and the Rapines of some of their Officers, seized the pretence furnished by *C. Avienus*, a military Tribune of the tenth Legion, who, when he set out from *Sicily*, filled a Ship entirely with his own Equipage and Attendants, without taking on board one single Soldier. Wherefore summoning all the military Tribunes and Centurions to appear before his Tribunal next Day, he addressed them in these Terms: " I could have wished that those, whose  
" Insolence and former licentious Character have  
" given me cause of Complaint, had been capable  
" of amendment, and of making a good use of  
" my Mildness, Patience, and Moderation. But  
" since they know not how to confine themselves  
" within bounds, I intend to make an Example of  
" them, according to the Law of Arms, in order  
" that others may be taught a better Conduct. You  
" *C. Avienus*, when you was in *Italy*, instigated the  
" Soldiers of the *Roman* People to revolt from the  
" Republick; you have been guilty of Rapines  
" and Plunders in the municipal Towns; and you  
" have



“ have never been of any real service, either to the  
 “ Commonwealth, or to your General: lastly, in  
 “ lieu of Soldiers, you have crowded the Trans-  
 “ ports with your Slaves and Equipage; so that,  
 “ thro’ your Fault, the Republick fails in Soldiers,  
 “ who at this time are not only useful, but neces-  
 “ sary. For all these Causes, I break you with Ig-  
 “ nominy, and order you to leave *Africa* this very  
 “ Day. In like manner I break you, *A. Fonteius*,  
 “ because you have behaved yourself as a seditious  
 “ Officer, and as a bad Citizen. You, *T. Sabinus*,  
 “ *M. Tiro*, *C. Clusinus*, have attained the Rank of  
 “ Centurions, thro’ my Indulgence, and not thro’  
 “ your own Merit; and since you have been in-  
 “ vested with that Rank, have neither shewn Brave-  
 “ ry in War, nor good Conduct in Peace. In-  
 “ stead of endeavouring to act according to the  
 “ Rules of Modesty and Decency, your whole  
 “ study has been to stir up the Soldiers against your  
 “ General. I therefore think you unworthy of con-  
 “ tinuing Centurions in my Army: I break you,  
 “ and order you to quit *Africa* as soon as possible.”  
 Having concluded this Speech, he delivered them  
 over to some Centurions, with Orders to confine  
 them separately on board a Ship, allowing each of  
 them a single Slave to wait on them.

XLIX. MEAN-TIME the *Getulian* Deserters,  
 whom *Cæsar* had sent home with Letters and Instruc-  
 tions, as we have related above, arrived among their  
 Countrymen: who partly swayed by their Autho-  
 rity, partly by the Name and Reputation of *Cæsar*,  
 revolted from *Juba*; and speedily and unanimously  
 taking up Arms, scrupled not to act in opposition  
 to their King. *Juba* having thus three Wars to  
 sustain, was compelled to detach six Cohorts from  
 the Army destined to act against *Cæsar*, and send  
 them

them to defend the Frontiers of his Kingdom against the *Getulians*.

L. CÆSAR having finished his Lines of Communication, and pushed them so near the Town, as to be just without reach of Dart, intrenched himself there. He caused warlike Engines in great numbers to be placed in the Front of his Works, wherewith he played perpetually against the Town; and to increase the Enemy's Apprehensions, drew five Legions out of his other Camp. This Opportunity gave several Persons of Rank in both Armies, a Desire to see and converse with their Friends, which *Cæsar* foresaw would turn to his advantage. For the chief Officers of the *Getulian* Horse, with other illustrious Men of that Nation, whose Fathers had served under *C. Marius*, and from his Bounty obtained considerable Estates in their Country, but after *Sylla's* Victory had been made Tributaries to King *Hiempsal*; taking the Opportunity of the Night, when the Fires were lighted, with their Horses and Servants, to the number of about a thousand, came over to *Cæsar's* Camp near *Uzita*.

LI. As this Accident could not but disturb *Scipio* and his Followers; they perceived, much about the same time, *M. Aquinius* in discourse with *C. Safferina*. *Scipio* sent him word, that he did not do well to correspond with the Enemy. *Aquinius* paid no attention to this Reprimand, but pursued his Discourse. Soon after, one of *Juba's* Guards came to him and told him, in the hearing of *Safferina*, The King forbids you to continue this Conversation. He no sooner received this Order, than immediately he retired, for fear of offending the King. One cannot wonder enough at this step in a *Roman* Citizen, who had already attained to considerable Honours

Honours in the Commonwealth; that tho' neither banished his Country, nor stripped of his Possessions, he should pay a more ready Obedience to the Orders of a foreign Prince, than those of *Scipio*; and choose rather to behold the Destruction of his Party, than return into the bosom of his Country. Nor was *Juba's* Arrogance confined to *M. Aquinius*, a new Man, and an inconsiderable Senator; but reached even *Scipio* himself, a Man of illustrious Birth, distinguished Honours, and high Dignity in the State. For as *Scipio*, before the King's Arrival, always wore a purple Coat of Mail; *Juba* is reported to have told him, that he ought not to wear the same Habit as he did. Accordingly *Scipio* changed his purple Robe for a white one, submitting to the Caprice of a haughty barbarian Monarch.

LII. NEXT Day they drew out all their Forces from both Camps; and forming them on an Eminence not far from *Cæsar's* Camp, continued thus in order of Battle. *Cæsar* likewise drew out his Men, and disposed them in Battle-array before his Lines; not doubting but the Enemy, who exceeded him in number of Troops, and had been so considerably reinforced by the arrival of King *Juba*, would advance to attack him. Wherefore having rode through the Ranks, encouraged his Men, and given them the Signal of Battle, he stay'd expecting the Enemy's Charge. For he did not think it adviseable to remove far from his Lines; because the Enemy having a strong Garrison in *Uzita*, which was opposite to his right Wing, he could not advance beyond that Place, without exposing his Flank to a Sally from the Town. Besides, the access to *Scipio's* Army was rough and difficult, and would have disordered his Troops before they gave the Onset.

LIII. AND here it may not be improper to describe the Order of Battle of both Armies : *Scipio's* Troops were drawn up in this Manner : He posted his own Legions, and those of *Juba*, in the Front : behind them the *Numidians*, as a Body of Reserve ; but in so very thin Ranks, and so far extended in length, that to see them at a distance, you would have taken the main Battle for a simple Line of Legionaries, which was doubled only upon the Wings. The Elephants were placed at equal distances on the right and left, and sustained by the light-armed Troops, and auxiliary *Numidians*. All the bridled Cavalry were on the right ; for the left was covered by the Town of *Uzita*, nor had the Cavalry room to extend themselves on that side. Accordingly he stationed the *Numidian* Horse, with an incredible multitude of light-armed Foot, about a thousand Paces from his right, towards the foot of a Mountain, considerably removed from his own and the Enemy's Troops. His design in this was, that during the progress of the Battle, the Cavalry having room to extend themselves might wheel round upon *Cæsar's* left, and disorder it with their Darts. Such was *Scipio's* Disposition. *Cæsar's* Order of Battle, to describe it from left to right, was as follows : The ninth and seventh Legions formed the left Wing ; the thirteenth, fourteenth, twenty-eighth, and twenty-sixth, the main Body ; and the thirtieth and twenty-ninth, the right. His second Line on the right, consisted partly of the Cohorts of those Legions we have already mentioned, partly of new Levies. His third Line was posted to the left, extending as far as the middle Legion of the main Body, and so disposed, that the left Wing formed a triple order of Battle. The reason of this Disposition was ; because his right Wing being defended



fended by the Works, it behoved him to make his left the stronger, that they might be a match for the numerous Cavalry of the Enemy ; for which reason he had placed all his Horse there, intermixed with light-armed Foot ; and as he could not rely much upon them, had detached the fifth Legion to sustain them. The Archers were dispersed up and down the Field, but principally in the two Wings.

LIV. THE two Armies thus facing one another in order of Battle, with a space of no more than three hundred Paces between, continued so posted from Morning 'till Night without fighting, of which perhaps there never was an Instance before. But when *Cæsar* began to retreat within his Lines, suddenly all the *Numidian* and *Getulian* Horse without Bridles, who were posted behind the Enemy's Army, made a Motion to the right, and began to approach *Cæsar's* Camp on the Mountain ; while the regular Cavalry under *Labienus*, continued in their Post, to keep our Legions in check. Upon this part of *Cæsar's* Cavalry, with the light-armed Foot, advancing hastily, and without Orders, against the *Getulians*, and venturing to pass the Morass, found themselves unable to deal with the superior multitude of the Enemy ; and being abandoned by the light-armed Troops, were forced to retreat in great Disorder, after the loss of one Trooper, twenty-six light-armed Foot, and many of their Horses wounded. *Scipio* overjoyed at this Success, returned towards Night to his Camp. But as Fortune's Favours are seldom permanent to those engaged in the Trade of War ; the Day after, a Party of Horse sent by *Cæsar* to *Leptis* in quest of Provisions, falling in unexpectedly with some *Numidian* and *Getulian* Stragglers, killed or made Prisoners about a hundred of them. *Cæsar*, mean-while, omitted not

every Day to draw out his Men, and labour at the Works ; carrying a Ditch and Rampart quite cross the Plain, to prevent the Incurfions of the Enemy. Nor was *Scipio* less active in forwarding his Works, and securing his Communication with the Mountain. Thus both Generals were busied about their Intrenchments, yet seldom a Day passed, without some Skirmish between the Cavalry.

LV. IN the mean time *Varus*, upon notice that the seventh and eighth Legions had sailed from *Sicily*, speedily equipped the Fleet he had brought to winter at *Utica*; and manning it with *Getulian* Rowers and Mariners, went out a cruising ; and came before *Adrumetum* with fifty-five Ships. *Cæsar*, who knew nothing of his arrival, sent *L. Cispus*, with a Squadron of twenty-seven Sail, to cruise about *Thapsus*, for the security of his Convoys ; and likewise dispatched *Q. Aquila* to *Adrumetum*, with thirteen Gallies, upon the same Errand. *Cispus* soon reached the Station appointed him : but *Aquila* being attacked by a Storm, could not double the Cape, which obliged him to put into a Creek at some distance, that afforded convenient shelter. The rest of the Fleet anchored before *Leptis*, where the Mariners went on Shore, some to refresh themselves, others to buy Provisions in the Towns, and left their Ships quite defenceless. *Varus* having notice of this from the Deserters, and resolving to take advantage of the Enemy's Negligence, left *Adrumetum* about nine at Night, and arriving early next Morning with his whole Fleet before *Leptis*, burnt all the Transports that were out at Sea, and took without opposition two five-benched Gallies, in which were none to defend them.

LVI. CÆSAR had an Account brought him of this unlucky Accident, as he was inspecting the Works of his Camp. Whereupon he immediately took Horse, went full speed to *Leptis*, which was but two Leagues distant, and going on board a Brigantine, ordered all the Ships in the Port to follow him, and in this manner put to Sea. He soon came up with *Aquila*, whom he found dismayed and terrified at the number of Ships he had to oppose; and continuing his Course, began to pursue the Enemy's Fleet. Mean-time *Varus*, astonished at *Cæsar*'s Boldness and Dispatch, tacked about with his whole Fleet, and made the best of his way for *Adrumetum*. But *Cæsar* after four miles sail came up with him, recovered one of his Gallies, with the Crew, and an hundred and thirty Men left to guard her: and took a three-benched Galley belonging to the Enemy, with all the Soldiers and Mariners on board. The rest of the Fleet doubled the Cape, and made the Port of *Adrumetum*. *Cæsar* could not double the Cape with the same Wind, but keeping the Sea all Night, appeared early next Morning before *Adrumetum*. He set fire to all the Transports without the Haven, took what Gallies he found there, or forced them into the Harbour; and having waited some time to offer the Enemy Battle, returned again to his Camp. On board the Ship he had taken was *P. Vestrius* a Roman Knight, and *P. Ligarius Afranianus*, the same who had prosecuted the War against him in *Spain*, and who, instead of acknowledging the Conqueror's Generosity, in granting him his Liberty, had joined *Pompey* in *Greece*; and after the Battle of *Pharsalia*, had gone into *Africa* to *Varus*, there to continue in the service of the same Cause. *Cæsar*, to punish his Perfidy and breach of Oath, gave immediate Orders for his

Execution. But he pardoned *P. Vestrius*, because his Brother had paid his Ransom at *Rome*, and he made it appear, that being taken in *Nasidius's* Fleet, and condemn'd to die, *Varus* had saved his Life, since which no Opportunity had offered of making his escape.

LVII. 'Tis usual for the People of *Africa*, to deposit their Corn privately in Vaults under Ground, to secure it in time of War, and guard it from the sudden Incurfions of an Enemy. *Cæsar* having Intelligence of this from a Spy, drew out two Legions with a Party of Cavalry at midnight, and sent them about ten miles off, whence they returned loaden with Corn to the Camp. *Labienus* being informed of it, marched about seven miles through the Mountains *Cæsar* had passed the Day before, and there encamped with two Legions; where expecting that *Cæsar* would often come the same way in quest of Corn, he daily lay in Ambush with a great Body of Horse and light-armed Foot. *Cæsar* having notice of this from the Deserters, suffered some Days to pass, 'till the Enemy by repeating the Practice often had abated a little of their Circumspection. Then issuing unexpectedly one Morning by the *Decuman* Port, with eight veteran Legions, and a Party of Horse, he ordered the Cavalry to march before; who coming suddenly upon the Enemy's light-armed Foot that lay in Ambush among the Valleys, slew about five hundred, and put the rest to Flight. Mean-time *Labienus* advanced with all his Cavalry to support the Runaways, and was on the point of overpowering our small Party with his Numbers, when suddenly *Cæsar* appeared with the Legions in order of Battle. This sight check'd the Ardor of *Labienus*, who thought proper to sound a Retreat. The Day after,

*Juba*



*Juba* ordered all the *Numidians* who had deserted their Post and fled to the Camp, to be crucified.

LVIII. MEAN-WHILE *Cæsar* being straitened for want of Corn, recalled all his Forces to the Camp : and having left Garrisons at *Leptis*, *Ruspina*, and *Acilla* ; ordered *Cispius* and *Aquila* to cruise with their Fleets, the one before *Adrumetum*, the other before *Thapsus* ; and set fire to his Camp at *Uzita* : he set out in order of Battle at three in the Morning, disposed his Baggage in the left, and came to *Agar*, a Town that had been often vigorously attacked by the *Getulians*, and as valiantly defended by the Inhabitants. There encamping in the Plain before the Town, he went with part of his Army round the Country in quest of Provisions ; and having found store of Barley, Oil, Wine, and Figs, with a small quantity of Wheat ; after allowing the Troops some time to refresh themselves, he returned to his Camp. *Scipio*, mean-while, hearing of *Cæsar*'s departure, followed him along the Hills with all his Forces, and posted himself about six miles off in three different Camps.

LIX. THE Town of *Zeta* lying on *Scipio*'s side of the Country, was not above ten miles from his Camp : but might be about eighteen from that of *Cæsar*. *Scipio* had sent two Legions thither to forage : which *Cæsar* having intelligence of from a Deserter, removed his Camp from the Plain to a Hill, for the greater Security ; and leaving some Troops to guard it, marched at three in the Morning with the rest of his Forces, passed the Enemy's Camp, and possessed himself of the Town. *Scipio*'s Legions were gone farther into the Country to forage ; against whom setting out immediately, he found the whole Army come up to their Assistance,

which obliged him to give over the Pursuit. He took on this Occasion *C. Mutius Reginus*, a Roman Knight, *Scipio's* intimate Friend, and Governor of the Town; also *P. Atrius*, a Roman Knight likewise, of the Province of *Utica*; with twenty-two Camels belonging to King *Juba*. Then leaving a Garrison in the Place, under the command of *Oppius* his Lieutenant, he set out upon his return to his own Camp.

LX. As he drew near *Scipio's* Camp, by which he was necessitated to pass; *Labienus* and *Afranius*, who lay in Ambuscade among the nearest Hills, with all their Cavalry and light-armed Infantry, started up and attacked his Rear. *Cæsar* detaching his Cavalry to receive their Charge, ordered the Legions to throw all their Baggage into a heap, and face about upon the Enemy. No sooner was this Order executed, than upon the first Charge of the Legions, the Enemy's Horse and light-armed Foot began to give way, and were with incredible ease driven from the higher Ground. But when *Cæsar*, imagining them sufficiently deterred from any further Attempts, began to pursue his March, they again issued from the Hills; and the *Numidians*, with the light-armed Infantry, who are wonderfully nimble, and accustom themselves to fight intermixed with the Horse, with whom they keep an equal pace either in advancing or retiring, fell a second time upon our Foot. As they repeated this often, pressing upon our Rear when we marched, and retiring when we endeavoured to engage, always keeping at a certain distance, and with singular care avoiding a close Fight, as holding it enough to wound us with their Darts; *Cæsar* plainly saw that their whole aim was, to oblige him to encamp in that Place, where no Water was to be had; that his

his Soldiers, who had tasted nothing from three in the Morning 'till four in the Afternoon, might perish with Hunger, and the Cattle with Thirst. Sun-set now approached; when *Cæsar*, finding he had not gained an hundred Paces compleat in four Hours, and that by keeping his Cavalry in the Rear, he lost many Horse, ordered the Legions to fall behind, and close the March. Proceeding thus with a slow and gentle Pace, he found the Legions fitter to sustain the Enemy's Charge. Meantime the *Numidian* Horse, wheeling round the Hills to the right and left, threatened to inclose *Cæsar's* Forces with their numbers, while part continued to harraß his Rear: and if but three or four veteran Soldiers faced about, and darted their Javelins at the Enemy, no less than two thousand of them would take to Flight; but suddenly rallying, returned to the Fight, and charged the Legionaries with their Darts. Thus *Cæsar*, one while marching forward, one while halting, and going on but slowly, reached his Camp safe about seven that Evening, having only ten Men wounded. *Labienus* too retreated to his Camp, after having thoroughly fatigued his Troops with the Pursuit; in which, besides a great number wounded, his loss amounted to about three hundred Men. And *Scipio* withdrew his Legions and Elephants, whom for the greater Terror, he had ranged before his Camp within view of *Cæsar's* Army.

LXI. CÆSAR having such an Enemy to deal with, was necessitated to instruct his Soldiers, not like a General of a veteran Army, which had been victorious in so many Battles; but like a Fencing-master training up his Gladiators: with what Foot they must advance or retire; when they were to oppose and make good their Ground, when to counterfeit

terfeit an Attack ; at what Place, and in what manner to lanch their Javelins. For the Enemy's light-armed Troops gave wonderful Trouble and Disquiet to our Army ; because they not only deterred the Cavalry from the Encounter, by killing their Horses with their Javelins, but likewise wearied out the legionary Soldiers by their swiftness : for as often as these heavy-armed Troops advanced to attack them, they evaded the Danger by a quick Retreat. This gave *Cæsar* no small Trouble : because as often as he engaged with his Cavalry, without being sustained by the Infantry, he found himself by no means a match for the Enemy's Horse, supported by their light-armed Foot : and as he had no experience of the strength of their Legions, he foresaw still greater Difficulties when these should be united, as the shock must then be wonderful. The number too and size of the Elephants, greatly increased the Terror of the Soldiers ; for which however he found a Remedy, in causing some of those Animals to be brought over from *Italy*, that his Men might be accustomed to the sight of them, know their Strength and Courage, and in what part of the Body they were most easily to be wounded. For as the Elephants are covered with Trappings and Ornaments, it was necessary to inform them what parts of the Body remained naked, that they might direct their Darts thither. It was likewise needful to familiarize his Horses to the cry, smell, and figure of these Animals ; in all which he succeeded to a Wonder : for the Soldiers quickly came to touch them with their Hands, and to be sensible of their Tardiness ; and the Cavalry attacked them with blunted Darts, and by degrees brought their Horses to endure their presence. For these Reasons already mentioned, *Cæsar* was not without his Anxieties, and proceeded with more Slowness  
and



and Circumspection than usual, abating considerably of his wonted Expedition and Celerity. Nor ought we to wonder : for in *Gaul* his Troops had been accustomed to fight in a champian Country, against an open undesigning Enemy, who despised Artifice, and valued themselves only on their Bravery. But now he was to habituate his Soldiers to the Arts and Contrivances of a crafty Enemy, and teach them what to pursue, and what to avoid. The sooner therefore to instruct them in these Matters, he took care not to confine his Legions to one Place, but under pretence of foraging, engaged them in frequent Marches, and Counter-marches ; knowing well that the Enemy would take care not to lose sight of him. Three Days after, he drew up his Forces with great Art, and marching past *Scipio's* Camp, waited for him in an open Plain ; but seeing that he still declined a Battle, he retreated to his Camp in the Evening.

LXII. MEAN-TIME Ambassadors arrived from the Town of *Vacca*, bordering upon *Zeta*, of which we have observed *Cæsar* had possessed himself. They requested and intreated that he would send them a Garrison, promising to furnish many of the Necessaries of War. At the same time, by an uncommon piece of good Fortune for *Cæsar*, a Deserter informed him, that *Juba* had by a quick March reached the Town, massacred the Inhabitants, and abandoned the Place itself to the plunder of his Soldiers. Thus was *Cæsar's* Garrison prevented from setting out, and by that means saved from Destruction.

LXIII. CÆSAR having reviewed his Army the eighteenth of *February*, advanced next Day with all his Forces five Miles beyond his Camp, and remained

maintained a considerable time in order of Battle two miles from *Scipio*'s. When he had waited sufficiently long to invite the Enemy to an Engagement, finding them still decline it, he led back his Troops. Next Day he decamped, and directed his March towards *Sarsura*, where *Scipio* had a Garrison of *Numidians*, and a Magazine of Corn. *Labienus* being informed of this Motion, fell upon his Rear with the Cavalry and light-armed Troops : and having made himself master of part of the Baggage, was encouraged to attack the Legions themselves, believing they would fall an easy Prey, under the Load and Incumbrance of a March. But *Cæsar*, from a foresight of what might happen, had ordered three hundred Men out of each Legion, to hold themselves in readiness for Action. These being sent against *Labienus*, he was so terrified at their approach, that he shamefully took to Flight, great numbers of his Men being killed or wounded. The Legionaries returned to their Standards, and pursued their March. *Labienus* still followed us at a distance along the summit of the Mountains, and kept hovering on our right.

LXIV. *CÆSAR* arriving before *Sarsura*, took it in presence of the Enemy, who durst not advance to its Relief ; and put to the Sword the Garrison which had been left there by *Scipio* under the command of *P. Cornelius*, who after a vigorous Defence was surrounded and slain. Having given all the Corn in the Place to the Army, he marched next Day to *Tisdra*, where *Censidius* was with a strong Garrison, and his Cohort of Gladiators. *Cæsar* having taken a view of the Town, and being deterred from besieging it for want of Corn, set out immediately, and after a March of four miles, encamped near a River. Here he stayed about four Days,

Days, and then returned to his former Camp at *Agar*. *Scipio* did the same, and retreated to his old Quarters.

LXV. MEAN-TIME the *Thabenenses*, a Nation situated in the extreme Confines of *Juba's* Kingdom, along the Sea-coast, and who had been accustomed to live in subjection to that Monarch; having massacred the Garrison left there by the King, sent Deputies to *Cæsar* to inform him of what they had done, and to beg he would take under his Protection a City which deserved so well of the *Roman* People. *Cæsar* approving their Conduct, sent *M. Crispus* the Tribune, with a Cohort, a party of Archers, and a great Number of warlike Engines, to charge himself with the defence of *Thabena*.

LXVI. AT the same time the legionary Soldiers, who either on account of Sicknefs, or for other Reasons, had not been able to come over into *Africa* with the rest, to the number of four thousand Foot, four hundred Horse, and a thousand Archers and Slingers, now arrived all together. With these, and his former Troops, he advanced into a Plain eight miles distant from his own Camp, and four from that of *Scipio*, where he waited the Enemy in order of Battle.

LXVII. THE Town of *Tegea* was below *Scipio's* Camp, where he had a Garrison of four hundred Horse. These he drew up on the right and left of the Town; and bringing forth his Legions, formed them in order of Battle upon a Hill somewhat lower than his Camp, and which was about a thousand Paces distant from it. After he had continued a considerable time in this Posture, without offering to make any Attempt; *Cæsar* sent some Squadrons  
of

of Horse, supported by his light-armed Infantry, Archers, and Slingers, to charge the Enemy's Cavalry, who were posted before the Town. Our Men advancing upon the Spur, *Pacidius* began to extend his Front, that he might at once surround and give us a warm Reception. Upon this *Cæsar* detached three hundred Legionaries to our Assistance, while at the same time *Labienus* was continually sending fresh Reinforcements, to replace those that were wounded or fatigued. Our Cavalry, who were only four hundred in number, not being able to sustain the Charge of four thousand, and being besides greatly incommoded by the light-armed *Numidians*, began at last to give ground : which *Cæsar* observing, detached the other Wing to their Assistance ; who joining those that were like to be overpowered, they fell in a Body upon the Enemy, put them to Flight, slew or wounded great Numbers, pursued them three Miles quite to the Mountains, and then returned to their own Men. *Cæsar* continued in order of Battle till four in the Afternoon, and then retreated to his Camp without the loss of a Man. In this Action *Pacidius* received a dangerous Wound in the Head, and had many of his best Officers either killed or wounded.

LXVIII. WHEN he found that the Enemy were by no means to be prevailed with to fight him upon equal terms, and that he could not encamp nearer them for want of Water, in consideration of which alone, and not from any confidence in their Numbers, the *Africans* had dared to despise him ; he decamped the fourteenth of *April* at midnight, marched sixteen Miles beyond *Agar* to *Thapsus*, where *Vergilius* commanded with a strong Garrison, and there fixed his Camp. The very first Day he began the Circumvallation, and raised Redoubts in proper



proper Places, as well for his own security, as to prevent any Succours from entering the Town. This Step reduced *Scipio* to the necessity of fighting, to avoid the disgrace of abandoning *Vergilius* and the *Thapsitani*, who had all along remained firm to his Party : and therefore following *Cæsar* without delay, he posted himself in two Camps, eight Miles from *Thapsus*.

LXIX. BETWEEN a Morass and the Sea was a narrow Pass of about fifteen hundred Paces, by which *Scipio* hoped to throw Succours into the Place. But *Cæsar* from a foresight of what might happen, had the Day before raised a very strong Fort at the entrance of it, where he left a triple Garrison ; and encamping with the rest of his Troops in form of a half Moon, carried his Works round the Town. *Scipio*, disappointed of his Design, passed the Day and Night following a little above the Morass ; but early next Morning advanced within a small distance of our Fort, where he began to intrench himself about fifteen hundred Paces from the Sea. *Cæsar* being informed of this, drew off his Men from the Works ; and leaving *Asprenas* the Proconsul with two Legions to guard the Camp and Baggage, marched all the rest of his Forces with the utmost expedition to the Place where the Enemy were posted. He left part of the Fleet before *Thapsus*, and ordered the rest to make as near the Shore as possible towards the Enemy's Rear, observing the Signal he should give them, upon which they were to raise a sudden shout, that the Enemy alarmed and disturbed by the Noise behind them, might be forced to face about.

LXX.

LXX. WHEN *Cæsar* came to the Place, he found *Scipio's* Army in order of Battle before the Intrenchments, the Elephants posted in the two Wings, and part of the Soldiers employed in fortifying the Camp. Upon sight of this disposition, he drew up his Army in three Lines, placed the second and tenth Legions in the right Wing, the eighth and ninth in the left, five Legions in the Center, covered his Flanks with five Cohorts posted over-against the Elephants, disposed the Archers and Slingers in the two Wings, and intermingled the light-armed Troops with his Cavalry. He himself on foot went from Rank to Rank, to rouse the Courage of the Veterans, putting them in mind of their former Bravery, and animating them by his soothing Address. He exhorted the new Levies to emulate the Bravery of the Veterans, and endeavour by a Victory to attain the same degree of Glory and Renown.

LXXI. As he ran from Rank to Rank, he observed the Enemy very uneasy, hurrying from Place to Place, one while retiring behind the Rampart, another coming out again in great Tumult and Confusion. As the same was observed by many others in the Army, his Lieutenants and Volunteers begged him to give the Sign of Battle, as the immortal Gods promised him a certain Victory. While he hesitated with himself, and strove to repress their Eagerness and Desires, as being unwilling to yield to the Importunity of Men, whose Duty it was to wait his Orders; on a sudden a Trumpet in the right Wing, without his leave, and compelled by the Soldiers, sounded a Charge. Upon this all the Cohorts ran to Battle, in spite of the Endeavours of the Centurions, who strove to restrain them by Force,

Force, but to no purpose. *Cæsar* perceiving that the Ardor of his Soldiers would admit of no Restraint, giving Good-fortune for the Word, spurred on his Horse, and charged the Enemy's Front. On the right Wing the Archers and Slingers poured their Javelins without Intermision upon the Elephants, and by the Noise of their Slings and Stones, so terrified these unruly Animals, that turning upon their own Men, they trod them down in heaps, and rushed through the Gates of the Camp, that were but half finished. At the same time the *Mauritanian* Horse, who were in the same Wing with the Elephants, seeing themselves deprived of their assistance, betook themselves to Flight. Whereupon the Legions wheeling round the Elephants, soon mastered the Enemy's Intrenchments. Some few that made resistance were slain : the rest fled with all expedition to the Camp they had quitted the Day before.

LXXII. AND here we must not omit taking notice of the Bravery of a veteran Soldier of the fifth Legion. For when an Elephant which had been wounded in the left Wing, and roused to Fury by the Pain, run against an unarmed Sutler, threw him under his Feet, and leaning on him with his whole weight, brandishing his Trunk, and raising hideous Cries, crushed him to death ; the Soldier could not refrain from attacking the Animal. The Elephant seeing him advance with his Javelin in his Hand, quitted the dead Body of the Sutler, and seizing him with his Trunk, wheeled him round in the Air. But the Soldier amidst all the danger, losing nothing of his Courage, ceased not with his Sword to strike at the Elephant's Trunk, who at last overcome with the Pain, quitted his Prey, and fled to the rest with hideous Cries.

LXXIII. MEAN-WHILE the Garrison of *Thap-fus*, either designing to assist their Friends, or abandon the Town, sallied by the Gate next the Sea, and wading navel-deep in the Water, endeavoured to reach the Land. But the Servants and Followers of the Camp, attacking them with Darts and Stones, obliged them to return again to the Town. *Scipio's* Camp mean-while being forced, and his Men flying on all sides, the Legions instantly began the pursuit, that they might have no time to rally. When they arrived at their former Camp, by means of which they hoped to defend themselves, they began to think of choosing a Commander, to whose Authority and Orders they might submit : but finding none on whom they could rely, they threw down their Arms, and fled to *Juba's* Quarter. This being likewise possessed by our Men, they retired to a Hill; where despairing of safety, they endeavoured to soften their Enemies, saluting them by the name of Brethren. But this stood them in little stead : for the Veterans transported with Rage and Anger, were not only deaf to the Cries of their Enemies, but even killed or wounded several Citizens of Distinction in their own Army, whom they upbraided as Authors of the War. Of this number was *Tullius Rufus* the Quæstor, whom a Soldier knowingly ran through with a Javelin ; and *Pompeius Rufus*, who was wounded with a Sword in the Arm, and would doubtless have been slain, had he not speedily fled to *Cæsar* for protection. This made several Roman Knights and Senators retire from the Battle, lest the Soldiers, who after so signal a Victory assumed an unbounded Licence, should be induced by the hopes of Impunity to wreck their Fury on them likewise. In short all *Scipio's* Soldiers, though they implored the protection of *Cæsar*, were yet in



the very fight of that General, and amidst his Intreaties to his Men to spare them, universally, and without exception, put to the Sword.

LXXIV. CÆSAR having made himself master of the Enemy's three Camps, killed ten thousand of them, and put the rest to Flight, retreated to his own Quarters with the loss of no more than fifty Men, and a few wounded. In his way he appeared before *Thapsus*, and ranged all the Elephants he had taken in the Battle, amounting to sixty-four, with their Ornaments, Trappings, and Castles, in full view of the Place. He was in hopes by this evidence of his Success, to induce *Vergilius* to a surrender. He even called and invited him to submit, reminding him of his Clemency and Mildness; but no Answer being given, he retired from before the Town. Next Day, after returning thanks to the Gods, he assembled his Army before *Thapsus*, praised his Soldiers in presence of the Inhabitants, rewarded the victorious, and from his Tribunal extended his Bounty to every one, according to their Merit and Services. Setting out thence immediately, he left the Proconsul *C. Rebellius* with three Legions to continue the Siege, and sent *Cn. Domitius* with two, to invest *Tisdra*, where *Confidius* commanded. Then ordering *M. Messala* to go before with the Cavalry, he began his March to *Utica*.

LXXV. *Scipio's* Cavalry, who had escaped out of the Battle, taking the Road of *Utica*, arrived at *Parada*: but being refused admittance by the Inhabitants, who heard of *Cæsar's* Victory, they forced the Gates, lighted a great Fire in the middle of the Forum, and threw all the Inhabitants into it, without distinction of Age or Sex, with their Effects: avenging in this manner by an unheard of Cruelty,

the Affront they had received. Thence they marched directly to *Utica*. *M. Cato*, some time before, distrusting the Inhabitants of that City, because of the Privileges granted them by the *Julian Law*, had disarmed and expelled the Populace, obliging them to dwell without the warlike Gate, in a small Camp environed with a slight Intrenchment, round which he had planted Guards, while at the same time he held the Senators under Confinement. The Cavalry attacked their Camp, as knowing them to be Well-wishers to *Cæsar*, and to avenge, by their Destruction, the shame of their own Defeat. But the People animated by *Cæsar*'s Victory, repulsed them with Stones and Clubs. They therefore threw themselves into the Town, killed many of the Inhabitants, and pillaged their Houses. *Cato* unable to prevail with them to abstain from Rapine and Slaughter, and undertake the defence of the Town, as he was not ignorant what they aimed at, gave each a hundred Sesterces to make them quiet. *Sylla Faustus* did the same out of his own Money; and marching with them from *Utica*, advanced into the Kingdom of *Juba*.

LXXVI. A great many others that had escaped out of the Battle, fled to *Utica*. These *Cato* assembled, with three hundred more who had furnished *Scipio* with Money for carrying on the War, and exhorted them to set their Slaves free, and in conjunction with them defend the Town. But finding that tho' part assembled, the rest were terrified and determined to fly, he gave over the Attempt, and furnished them with Ships to facilitate their escape. He himself having settled all his Affairs with the utmost Care, and commended his Children to *L. Cæsar* his Quæstor; without the least Indication which might give cause of Suspicion, or any change  
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in his Countenance and Behaviour, privately carried a Sword into his Chamber when he went to sleep, and stabbed himself with it. But the Wound not proving mortal, and the noise of his Fall creating a Suspicion; a Physician with some Friends broke into his Chamber, and endeavoured to bind up the Wound: which he no sooner was sensible of, than tearing it open again with his own Hands, he expired with undaunted resolution and presence of mind. The *Uticans*, tho' they hated his Party, yet in consideration of his singular Integrity, his Behaviour so different from that of the other Chiefs, and the wonderful Fortifications he had directed to defend their Town, interred him honourably. *L. Cæsar*, that he might procure some Advantages by his death, assembled the People, and after haranguing them, exhorted them to open their Gates, and throw themselves upon *Cæsar's* Clemency, from which they had the greatest reason to hope the best. This Advice being followed, he came forth to meet *Cæsar*. *Messala* having reached *Utica* according to his Orders, placed Guards at all the Gates.

LXXVII. MEAN-WHILE *Cæsar* leaving *Thapsus*, came to *Usceta*, where *Scipio* had laid up great store of Corn, Arms, Darts, and other warlike Provisions, under a small Guard. He soon made himself master of the Place, and marched directly to *Adrumetum*, which he entered without opposition. He took an account of the Arms, Provisions, and Money in the Town; pardoned *Q. Ligarius* and *C. Confidius*; and leaving *Livineius Regulus* there with one Legion, set out the same Day for *Utica*. *L. Cæsar* meeting him by the way, threw himself at his Feet, and only begged for his Life. *Cæsar*, according to his wonted Clemency, easily pardoned him; as he did likewise *Cæcina*, *C. Ateius*, *P. Atrius*,

*L. Colla* Father and Son, *M. Eppius*, *M. Aquinius*, *Cato's* Son, and the Children of *Damisippus*. He arrived at *Utica* in the Evening by torch-light, and continued all that Night without the Town.

LXXVIII. NEXT Morning early he entered the Place, summoned an Assembly of the People, and thanked them for the Affection they had shewn to his Cause. At the same time he censured severely, and enlarged upon the Crime of the *Roman* Citizens and Merchants, and the rest of the three hundred, who had furnished *Scipio* and *Varus* with Money; but concluded with telling them that they might show themselves without fear, as he was determined to grant them their Lives, and content himself with exposing their Effects to sale; yet so, that he would give them notice when their Goods were to be sold, and the Liberty of redeeming them upon payment of a certain Fine. The Merchants half dead with Fear, and conscious that they merited Death, hearing upon what Terms Life was offered them, greedily accepted the Condition, and intreated *Cæsar* that he would impose a certain Sum in gross upon all the three hundred. Accordingly he amerced them in two hundred thousand Sesterces, to be paid to the Republick at six equal Payments, within the space of three Years. They all accepted the Condition, and considering that Day as a second Nativity, joyfully returned thanks to *Cæsar*.

LXXIX. MEAN-WHILE King *Juba*, who had escaped from the Battle with *Petreius*, hiding himself all Day in the Villages, and travelling only by Night, arrived at last in *Numidia*. When he came to *Zama*, his ordinary place of residence, where were his Wives and Children, with all his Treasures, and whatever he held most valuable, and which he had



had strongly fortified at the begining of the War ; the Inhabitants having heard of *Cæsar's* Victory, refused him entrance, because upon declaring War against the *Romans*, he had raised a mighty Pile of Wood in the middle of the Forum, designing, if unsuccessful, to massacre all the Citizens, sling their Bodies and Effects upon the Pile, then setting fire to the Mass, and throwing himself upon it, destroy all without exception, Wives, Children, Citizens, and Treasures, in one general Conflagration. After continuing a considerable time before the Gates, finding that neither Threats nor Intreaties would avail, he at last desired them to deliver him his Wives and Children, that he might carry them along with him. But receiving no Answer, and seeing them determined to grant him nothing, he quitted the Place, and retired to one of his Country-seats with *Petreius* and a few Horse.

LXXX. MEAN-TIME the *Zamians* sent Ambassadors to *Cæsar* at *Utica*, to inform him what they had done, and to request his Assistance against *Juba*, who was drawing his Forces together to attack them. They assured him of their Submission, and Resolution to defend the Town for him. *Cæsar* commended the Ambassadors, and sent them back to acquaint their Fellow-citizens, that he was coming himself to their Relief. Accordingly setting out the next Day from *Utica* with his Cavalry, he directed his March towards *Numidia*. Many of the King's Generals met him on the way, and sued for Pardon : to all whom having given a favourable Hearing, they attended him to *Zama*. The Report of his Clemency and Mildness spreading into all Parts, the whole *Numidian* Cavalry flocked to

him at *Zama*, and were there delivered of their Fears.

LXXXI. DURING these Transactions, *Confidius* who commanded at *Tifdra*, with his own Retinue, a Garrison of *Getulians*, and a Company of Gladiators; hearing of the defeat of his Party, and terrified at the arrival of *Domitius* and the Legions, abandoned the Town; and privately withdrawing with a few of the Barbarians, and all his Money, took his way towards *Numidia*. The *Getulians*, to render themselves masters of his Treasure, murdered him by the way, and fled every Man where he could. Mean-time *C. Vergilius*, seeing himself shut up by Sea and Land, without power of making a Defence; his Followers all slain or put to Flight; *M. Cato* dead by his own hands at *Utica*; *Juba* despised and deserted by his own Subjects; *Sabura* and his Forces defeated by *Sitius*; *Cæsar* received without Opposition at *Utica*; and that of so vast an Army, nothing remained capable of screening him or his Children; thought it his most prudent Course, to surrender himself and the City to the Proconsul *Caninius*, by whom he was besieged.

LXXXII. AT the same time King *Juba*, seeing himself excluded from all the Cities of his Kingdom, and that there remained no hopes of Safety; having supped with *Petreius*, proposed an Engagement Sword in hand, that they might die honourably. *Juba*, as being the stronger, easily got the better of his Adversary, and laid him dead at his Feet: but endeavouring afterwards to run himself through the Body, and wanting Strength to accomplish it, he was obliged to have recourse to  
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one of his Slaves, and by his Intreaties prevailed upon him to perform that mournful Office.

LXXXIII. IN the mean time *P. Silius*, having defeated the Army of *Sabura*, *Juba's* Lieutenant, and slain the General, and marching with a few Troops thro' *Mauritania* to join *Cæsar*, chanced to fall in with *Faustus* and *Afranius*, who were at the head of the Party that had plundered *Utica*, amounting in all to about fifteen hundred Men, and designing to make the best of their way to *Spain*. Having expeditiously placed himself in ambuscade during the Night, and attacking them by Day-break, he either killed or made them all Prisoners, except a few that escaped from the Van. *Afranius* and *Faustus* were taken among the rest, with their Wives and Children : but some few Days after, a Mutiny arising among the Soldiers, *Faustus* and *Afranius* were slain: *Cæsar* pardoned *Pompeia*, the Wife of *Faustus*, with her Children, and permitted her the free enjoyment of all her Effects.

LXXXIV. MEAN-WHILE *Scipio*, with *Damasippus* and *Torquatus*, and *Plætorius Rustianus*, having embarked on board some Gallies, with a design to make for the Coast of *Spain*; and being long and severely tossed by contrary Winds, were at last obliged to put into the Port of *Hippo*, where the Fleet commanded by *P. Silius* chanced at that time to be. *Scipio's* Vessels, which were but small, and few in number, were easily surrounded and sunk by the larger and more numerous Ships of *Silius*; on which Occasion *Scipio*, and all those whom we have mentioned above, as having embarked with him, perished.

LXXXV.

LXXXV. MEAN-WHILE *Cæsar* having exposed the King's Effects to publick sale at *Zama*, and confiscated the Estates of those, who though *Roman* Citizens, had born Arms against the Republick: after conferring Rewards upon such of the *Zamians* as had been concerned in the design of excluding the King, he abolished all the royal Tributes, converted the Kingdom into a Province; and appointing *Crispus Sallustius* to take charge of it with the Title of Proconsul, returned again to *Utica*. There he sold the Estates of the Officers that had served under *Juba* and *Petreius*, fined the People of *Thapsus* twenty thousand Sesterces, and the Company of *Roman* Merchants there thirty thousand; fined likewise the Inhabitants of *Adrumetum* in thirty thousand, and their Company in fifty thousand, but preserved the Cities and their Territories from Insult and Plunder. Those of *Leptis*, whom *Juba* had pillaged some time before, and who upon Complaint made to the Senate by their Deputies, had obtained Arbitrators and Restitution, were enjoined to pay yearly three hundred thousand Pounds of Oil; because from the beginning of the War, in consequence of a dissension among their Chiefs, they had made an Alliance with the King of *Numidia*, and supplied him with Arms, Soldiers, and Money. The People of *Tifdra*, because of their extreme Poverty, were only condemned to pay annnally a certain quantity of Corn.

LXXXVI. THESE Things settled, he embarked at *Utica* on the thirteenth of *June*, and three Days after arrived at *Carales* in *Sardinia*. Here he condemned the *Sulcitani* in a Fine of one hundred thousand



thousand Sesterces, for receiving and aiding *Nasidius's* Fleet ; and instead of a tenth, which was their former Assessment, ordered them now to pay an eighth to the publick Treasury. He likewise confiscated the Estates of some who had been more active than the rest, and weighing from *Carales* on the twenty-ninth of *June*, coasted along the Shore, and after a Voyage of twenty-eight Days, during which he was several times obliged to put into Port by contrary Winds, arrived safe at *Rome*.

A. HIRTIUS

A HISTORY OF THE

COMMITTEES

SPANISH WAR

A HISTORY

*A. HIRTIUS PANSA's*  
**COMMENTARIES**  
OF THE  
*SPANISH WAR.*

## THE ARGUMENT.

- I. *The Commencement of the Spanish War.* II. *Cæsar marches to attack Cordova.* III. *At the same time throws Succours into Ullia, besieged by Pompey.* IV. *The Attack upon Cordova obliges Pompey to raise the Siege of Ullia.* V. *Pompey advancing to the Relief of Cordova, Cæsar attacks Ategua, whither he is followed by Pompey.* VII. *Both intrench themselves in mountainous Places, of difficult Access.* IX. *Pompey attacking a Fort belonging to Cæsar, is repulsed.* X. *Cæsar continues the Siege of Ategua.* XI. *Repulses a Sally from the Town.* XIII. *Various Skirmishes between the two Armies.* XV. *Cruelty of the Townsmen.* XVI. *Cæsar repulses them in a second Sally.* XVII. *Tullius treats with Cæsar about a Surrender.* XVIII. *Continuation of the Siege.* XIX. *The Town surrenders.* XX. *Pompey removes his Camp towards Ucubis.* XXII. *Behaviour of the Burfavolenses.* XXIII. *Cæsar and Pompey both encamp near Ucubis, where some Skirmishes happen.* XXV. *Single Combat of Turpio and Niger.* XXVI. *Great Numbers of the Enemy desert to Cæsar. Some of Pompey's Letters intercepted.* XXVII. *Both Parties encamp in the Plain of Munda.* XXVIII. *A great Battle ensues.* XXXI. *In which Pompey is totally defeated.* XXXII. *Cæsar besieges the Runaways in Munda.* XXXIII. *Attacks and makes himself master of Cordova.* XXXV. *Likewise of Hispalis; whence he is expelled, and again recovers it. The Mundenfes, under a pretence of a Surrender, preparing to attack our Men, are themselves put to the Sword.* XXXVII. *Carteia surrenders to Cæsar. Pompey makes his Escape.* XXXIX. *Pompey is slain.* XL. *Some of Cæsar's Ships burnt.* XLI. *Cæsar's Troops take possession of Munda, and afterwards invest Urfao.* XLII. *Cæsar's Speech to the People of Hispalis.*



*A. HIRTIUS PANSÆ's*  
**COMMENTARIES**  
 OF THE  
*SPANISH WAR.*

I. **P***HARNACES* being vanquished, and *Africa* reduced, those who escaped fled into *Spain* to young *Cn. Pompey*; who having got possession of the farther Province, whilst *Cæsar* was employed in distributing Rewards in *Italy*, endeavoured to strengthen himself by engaging the several States to join him: and partly by intreaty, partly by force, soon drew together a considerable Army, with which he began to lay waste the Country. In this situation of Things, some States voluntarily sent him Supplies, others shut the Gates of their Towns against him: of which, if any chanced to fall into his hands by Assault; how well soever a Citizen might have deserved of his Father, yet if he was known to be rich, some ground of Complaint was never wanting,  
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under pretence of which to destroy him, that his Estate might fall a Prey to the Soldiers. Thus the Enemy, encouraged by the Spoils of the vanquished, increased daily in Number and Strength: in-  
fomuch that the States in *Cæsar's* Interest were continually sending Messengers into *Italy*, to press his immediate March to their Relief.

II. *CÆSAR* now a third time Dictator, and nominated also a fourth time to the same Dignity, hastening with all diligence into *Spain*, to put an end to the War, was met upon the Way by the Ambassadors of *Cordova*, who had deserted from the Camp of *Cn. Pompey*. They informed him that it would be an easy matter to make himself master of the Town by Night, because the Enemy as yet knew nothing of his arrival in the Province, the Scouts sent out by *Cn. Pompey* to inform him of *Cæsar's* approach, having been all made Prisoners. They alledged besides many more other very probable Reasons; all which so far wrought upon him, that he sent immediate advice of his arrival to *Q. Pedius*, and *Q. Fabius Maximus* his Lieutenants, to whom he had left the command of the Troops in the Province; ordering them to send him all the Cavalry they had been able to raise. He came up with them much sooner than they expected, and was joined by the Cavalry according to his desire.

III. *SEXTUS POMPEY*, the Brother of *Cneus*, commanded at this time at *Cordova*, which was accounted the Capital of the Province. Young *Cneus Pompey* himself was employed in the Siege of *Ulia*, which had now lasted some Months. The Besieged having notice of *Cæsar's* arrival, sent Deputies to him, who passed unobserved thro' *Pompey's* Camp, and requested with great earnestness, that he would  
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come speedily to their Relief. *Cæsar*, who was no stranger to the Merit of that People, and their constant Attachment to the *Romans*, detached about nine at Night eleven Cohorts, with a like number of Horse, under the command of *L. Julius Paciecus*, a good Officer, well known in the Province, and who was besides perfectly acquainted with the Country. When he arrived at *Pompey's* Quarters, a dreadful Tempest arising, attended with a violent Wind; so great a darkness ensued, that it was difficult to distinguish even the Person next you. This Accident proved of great advantage to *Paciecus*: for being arrived at *Pompey's* Camp, he ordered the Cavalry to advance two by two, and march directly thro' the Enemy's Quarters to the Town. Some of their Guards calling to know who passed; one of our Troopers bid them be silent, for they were just then endeavouring by stealth to approach the Wall, in order to get possession of the Town; and partly by this Answer, partly by favour of the Tempest, which hindered the Centinels from examining things diligently, they were suffered to pass without disturbance. When they reached the Gates, upon a Signal given they were admitted; and both Horse and Foot raising a mighty Shout, after leaving some Troops to guard the Town, sallied in a Body upon the Enemy's Camp; who having no apprehension of such an Attack, were almost all like to have been made Prisoners.

IV. *ULIA* being relieved, *Cæsar*, to draw *Pompey* from the Siege, marched towards *Cordova*; sending the Cavalry before, with a select Body of heavy-armed Foot; who as soon as they came within sight of the Place, got up behind the Troopers, without being perceived by those of *Cordova*. Upon their approach to the Walls, the Enemy sallied in

great numbers, to attack our Cavalry; when the Infantry leaping down, fell upon them with such fury, that out of an almost infinite multitude of Men, very few returned to the Town. This so alarmed *Sextus Pompey*, that he immediately sent Letters to his Brother, requesting him to come speedily to his Relief, lest *Cæsar* should make himself master of *Cordova* before his arrival. Thus *Cn. Pompey*, moved by his Brother's Letters, quitted the Siege of *Ullia*, which was upon the point of surrendering, and began his March towards *Cordova*.

V. *CÆSAR* arriving at the River *Bætis*, which he found too deep to be forded, sunk several Baskets of Stones in it; and raising a Bridge upon them, supported by double Beams, carried over his Forces in three Bodies. *Pompey* arriving soon after with his Troops, encamped directly over-against him. *Cæsar*, to cut off his Provisions and Communication with the Town, ran a Line from his Camp to the Bridge. *Pompey* did the same; insomuch that a Struggle arose between the two Generals, which should first get possession of the Bridge; and this daily brought on small Skirmishes, in which sometimes the one, sometimes the other Party had the better. At last the Dispute becoming more general, they came to a close Fight, tho' upon very disadvantageous Ground: for both sides striving earnestly to obtain the Bridge, they found themselves as they approached straitened for want of room, and extending themselves towards the River side, many fell headlong from the Banks. Thus the loss was pretty equal; for on either side lay heaps of slain: and *Cæsar*, for many Days, used all possible endeavours to bring the Enemy to an Engagement on equal terms, that he might bring the War to a conclusion as soon as possible.



VI. BUT finding that they carefully avoided a Battle, with a view to which chiefly he had quitted the rout of *Ulia*; he caused great Fires to be lighted in the Night, repassed the River with all his Forces, and marched towards *Ategua*, one of their strongest Garrisons. *Pompey* having notice of this from the Deferters, retreated the same Day to *Cordova*, by a very narrow and difficult Road, with a great number of Carriages and Machines of War. *Cæsar* began his Attack upon *Ategua*, and carried Lines quite round the Town; of which *Pompey* having intelligence, set out upon his March the same Day. But *Cæsar* had taken care beforehand to secure all the advantageous Posts, and possess himself of the Forts; partly to shelter his Cavalry, partly to post Guards of Infantry for the defence of his Camp. The Morning of *Pompey's* arrival was so foggy, that he found means, with some Cohorts and Troops of Cavalry, to hem in a Party of *Cæsar's* Horse, and fell upon them in such manner, that very few escaped slaughter.

VII. THE following Night *Pompey* set fire to his Camp, passed the River *Salsus*, and marching thro' the Valleys, encamped on a rising Ground, between the two Towns of *Ategua* and *Ucubis*. *Cæsar* meanwhile continued his Approaches, cast up a Mount, and brought forward his Machines. The Country all around is mountainous, and seems formed for War. The River *Salsus* runs thro' the Plains, and divides them from the Mountains, which all lie upon the side of *Ategua*, at about two miles distance from the River. *Pompey's* Camp was upon these Mountains, within view of both the Towns, but nearer to *Ategua*; to which he could however send no relief, tho' his Army consisted of thirteen Le-

gions. Of these he chiefly relied on four: two *Spanish* ones, which had deserted from *Trebonius*; one formed out of the *Roman* Colonies in those parts; and a fourth which he had brought with him from *Africa*. The rest were for the most part made up of Fugitives and Deserters. As to light-armed Foot and Cavalry, we far exceeded him both in the number and goodness of the Troops.

VIII. BUT what proved principally serviceable to *Pompey's* design of drawing out the War into length, was the nature of the Country, full of Mountains, and extremely well adapted to Encampments. For almost the whole Province of farther *Spain*, tho' of an extremely fertile Soil, and abounding in Springs, is nevertheless very difficult of access. Here too, on account of the frequent Incurfions of the Natives, all the Places remote from great Towns, are fortified with Towers and Castles, covered, as in *Africa*, not with Tiles, but with Earth. On these they place Centinels, whose high situation commands an extensive view of the Country on all sides. Nay the greatest part of the Towns of this Province are built on Mountains, and Places exceedingly strong by Nature, the approaches to which are extremely difficult. Thus Sieges are rare and hazardous in *Spain*, it not being easy to reduce their Towns by force; as happened in the present War. For *Pompey* having established his Camp between *Ategua* and *Ucubis*, as related above, and within view of both Towns, *Cæsar* found means to possess himself of an Eminence very conveniently situated, and only about four miles from his own Camp, on which he built a Fortrefs.

IX. POMPEY, who from the nature of the Ground was covered by the same Eminence, and  
besides

besides at a sufficient distance from *Cæsar's* Quarters, soon became sensible of the importance of this Post: and as *Cæsar* was separated from it by the River *Salsus*, he imagined that the difficulty of sending relief would prevent his attempting any thing of that kind in its defence. Relying on this persuasion, he set out about midnight, and attacked the Fort, which had been very troublesome to the Besieged. The Enemy, upon their approach, setting up a Shout, discharged their Javelins in great numbers, and wounded multitudes of our Men: but those in the Fort making a vigorous Resistance, and dispatching Messengers to the greater Camp to inform *Cæsar* of what had happened, he hastened to their relief with three Legions. His approach struck the Enemy with terror: many were slain, and a greater number made Prisoners; nay multitudes in their flight threw away their Arms; insomuch that above fourscore Shields were found which they had left behind them.

X. THE Day after *Arguetius* arrived from *Italy* with the Cavalry, and five Standards taken from the *Saguntines*; but was forced to quit his Post by *Asprenas*, who likewise brought a Reinforcement from *Italy* to *Cæsar*. The same Night *Pompey* set fire to his Camp, and drew towards *Cordova*. A King named *Indus*, who was bringing some Troops to *Cæsar* with a Party of Cavalry, following the pursuit of the Enemy too briskly, was made Prisoner and slain by the *Spanish* Legionaries. Next Day our Cavalry pursued those who were employed in carrying Provisions from the Town to *Pompey's* Camp, almost to the very Walls of *Cordova*, and took fifty Prisoners, besides Horses. The same Day *Q. Marcus*, a military Tribune in *Pompey's* Army, deserted to us. At midnight the Besieged fell furiously up-

on our Works, and by all the Methods they could devise, threw Fire and combustible Matter into the Trenches. When the Attack was ended, *C. Fundanius* a Roman Knight quitted the Enemy, and came over to us.

XI. NEXT Day two *Spanish* Legionaries, who pretended they were Slaves, were made Prisoners by a Party of our Horse: but being brought to the Camp, they were known by the Soldiers who had formerly served under *Fabius* and *Pedius*, and deserted from *Trebonius*, who would grant no Quarter, but massacred them immediately. At the same time some Couriers sent from *Cordova* to *Pompey*, entering our Camp by mistake, were seized, had their Hands cut off, and then were dismissed. About nine at Night the Besieged, according to custom, spent a considerable time in casting Fire and Darts upon our Soldiers, and wounded a great number of Men. At Day-break they sallied upon the sixth Legion, who were busy at the Works, and began a sharp Contest, in which however our Men got the better, tho' the Besieged had the advantage of the higher Ground: and fifty of their Horse, who had begun the Attack, being vigorously opposed on our side, notwithstanding all the Inconveniencies we fought under, were at length obliged to retire into the Town with many Wounds.

XII. NEXT Day *Pompey* began a Line from the Camp to the River *Salsus*; and a small Party of our Horse, being attacked by a much greater Body of the Enemy, were driven from their Post, with the loss of three of their number. The same Day *A. Valgius*, the Son of a Senator, whose Brother was in *Pompey's* Camp, mounted his Horse and went over



over to the Enemy, leaving all his Baggage behind him. A Spy belonging to *Pompey's* second Legion was taken and slain. At the same time a Bullet was shot into the Town with this Inscription: That Notice should be given by the Signal of a Buckler, when *Cesar* advanced to storm the Town. This encouraging some to hope that they might scale the Walls and possess themselves of the Town without danger, they fell the next Day to sapping them, and threw down a considerable Part of the outward Wall. They then endeavoured to mount the Breach, but were made Prisoners, and afterwards employed by the Garrison to make an Offer of surrendering the Town to *Cesar*, upon condition he would suffer them to march out with their Baggage. The Answer was, That it had been always his Custom to give, not accept of Conditions; which being reported to the Garrison, they set up a Shout, and began to pour their Darts upon our Men from the whole Circuit of the Wall; which gave reason to believe that the Garrison intended that Day to make a vigorous Sally. Wherefore surrounding the Town with our Troops, the Conflict was for some time maintained with great Violence, and one of our Batteries threw down a Tower belonging to the Enemy, in which were five of their Men, and a Boy, whose Office it was to observe the Battery.

XIII. AFTER this *Pompey* erected a Fort on the other side of the *Salsus*, in which he met with no interruption from our Men, and gloried not a little in the imagination of having possessed himself of a Post so near us. Also the following Day, extending himself in like manner still farther, he came up with our out-guard of Cavalry, and charging them briskly, obliged several Squadrons, and the light-armed Foot to give ground; many of whom, by reason of the smallness of their Numbers, incapa-

ble of any vigorous Opposition, were trod down by the Enemy's Horse. This passed within view of both Camps, and not a little animated the *Pompeians*, to see our Men pushed so far: but being afterwards reinforced by a Party from our Camp, they faced about with design to renew the Fight.

XIV. In all Battles of the Horse this is found to hold, that when the Troopers dismount with design to charge the Infantry, the Match evermore proves unequal, as happened on the present occasion. For a select Body of the Enemy's light-armed Foot, coming unexpectedly upon our Horse, they alighted to sustain the Charge. Thus in a very little time, from a Horse it became a Foot-skirmish, and again from a Foot changed to a Horse encounter, in which our Men were driven back to their very Lines: but being there reinforced, about a hundred and twenty-three of the Enemy were slain, several forced to throw down their Arms, many wounded, and the rest pursued quite to their Camp. On our side a hundred and eleven Men were slain, besides twelve Foot-soldiers and five Troopers wounded.

XV. TOWARDS the Evening of the same Day, the Fight, as usual, was renewed before the Walls; and the Enemy having thrown many Darts, and a great Quantity of Fire from the Battlements, proceeded afterwards to an Action of unexampled Cruelty and Barbarity: for in the very sight of our Troops they fell to murdering the Citizens, and tumbling them headlong from the Walls: an instance of Inhumanity, of which no Parallel is to be found in the History of the most savage Nations.

XVI. WHEN Night came on, *Pompey* sent a Messenger unknown to us, to exhort the Garrison

to make a vigorous Sally about midnight, and set fire to our Towers and Mount. Accordingly having poured upon us a great Quantity of Darts and Fire, and destroyed a considerable part of the Rampart, they opened the Gate which lay over-against and within view of *Pompey's* Camp, and sallied out with all their Forces, carrying with them Fascines to fill up the Ditch; Hooks and Fire to destroy and reduce to Ashes the Barracks, which the Soldiers had built mostly of Reeds to defend them from the Winter; and some Silver and rich Apparel to scatter among the Tents, that while our Men should be employed in securing the Plunder, they might fight their way through and escape to *Pompey*; who in expectation that they would be able to effect their Design, had crossed the *Salsus* with his Army, where he continued all Night in order of Battle, to favour their Retreat. But though our Men had no Apprehension of this Design, their Valour enabled them to frustrate the Attempt, and repulse the Enemy with many Wounds. They even made themselves masters of the Spoil, their Arms, and some Prisoners, who were put to death next Day. At the same time a Deserter from the Town informed us, that *Junius*, who was employed in the Mine when the Citizens were massacred, exclaimed against it as a cruel and barbarous Action, which ill suited the kind Treatment they had received, and was a direct Violation of the Laws of Hospitality. He added many things besides, which made such an Impression upon the Garrison, that they desisted from the Massacre.

XVII. THE next Day *Tullius*, a Lieutenant-General, accompanied by *C. Antonius* of *Lusitania*, came to *Cæsar*, and addressed him to this effect. "Would to Heaven I had rather been one of your  
" Soldiers,

“ Soldiers, than a Follower of *C. Pompey*, and  
 “ given those Proofs of Valour and Constancy in  
 “ obtaining Victories for you, rather than in suf-  
 “ fering for him. The only Advantage we reap  
 “ from following his Banners are doleful Applauses,  
 “ being reduced to the condition of indigent Citi-  
 “ zens, and by the melancholy Fate of our Country  
 “ ranked among its Enemies ; who having never  
 “ shared with *Pompey* in his good Fortune, find our-  
 “ selves yet involved in his Disgrace ; and after  
 “ sustaining the Attack of so many armed Legions,  
 “ employing ourselves Day and Night in Works of  
 “ Defence, exposed to the Darts and Swords of  
 “ our Fellow-citizens ; vanquished, deserted by  
 “ *Pompey*, and compelled to give way to the supe-  
 “ rior Valour of your Troops, find ourselves at last  
 “ obliged to have recourse to your Clemency, and  
 “ implore that you will not show yourselves less  
 “ placable to Fellow-citizens, than you have so of-  
 “ ten been to foreign Nations.” “ I am ready,  
 “ returned *Cæsar*, to show the same Favour to Ci-  
 “ tizens, which vanquished Nations have always  
 “ received at my Hands.”

XVIII. THE Ambassadors being dismissed, when  
 they arrived at the Gate of the Town, *Tiberius Tul-*  
*lius* observing that *C. Antony* did not follow him, re-  
 turned to the Gate and laid hold of him, upon which  
 drawing a Poniard from his Breast, he wounded  
 him in the Hand, and in this Condition they both  
 fled to *Cæsar*. At the same time the Standard-  
 bearer of the first Legion came over to our Camp,  
 and reported that the Day when the Skirmish hap-  
 pened between the Horse, no less than thirty-five  
 of his Company fell ; but it was not allowed to  
 mention it in *Pompey's* Camp, or so much as own  
 the loss of one Man. A Slave, whose Master was

in



in *Cæsar's* Camp, and who had left his Wife and Son in the City, cut his Master's Throat, and deceiving the Guards, escaped privately to *Pompey's* Camp; whence by means of a Bullet, on which he inscribed his Intelligence, he gave us notice of the Preparations made for the defence of the Place. When we had read the Inscription, those who were employed to throw the Bullet returning to the City, two *Lusitanian* Brothers deserted, and informed us, that *Pompey* in a Speech made to his Soldiers had said; that as he found it impossible to relieve the Town, he was resolved to withdraw privately in the Night, and retire towards the Sea: to which one made answer, that it was better to hazard a Battle, than take refuge in flight; for which he was immediately killed. At the same time some of his Couriers were intercepted, who were endeavouring to get into the Town. *Cæsar* sent the Letters to the Inhabitants, and one of the Messengers begging his Life, he granted it with promise of further Reward, if he would set fire to the Enemy's wooden Turret. The Enterprize was not without difficulty; he undertook it however, but was slain in the Attempt. The same Night a Deserter informed us that *Pompey* and *Labienus* were greatly offended at the Massacre of the Citizens.

XIX. ABOUT nine at Night, one of our wooden Towers, which had been severely battered by the Enemy's Engines, gave way as far as the third Story. At the same time a sharp Action happened near the Walls, and the Besieged, assisted by a favourable Wind, burnt the remaining part of that Tower and another. Next Morning a Matron threw herself from the Wall, and came over to our Camp, reporting, that the rest of her Family had intended the same, but were apprehended and put  
to

to death ; likewise a Letter was thrown over, in which was written ; “ *L. Minutius* to *Cæsar* : *Pompey* has abandoned me ; if you will grant me my Life, I promise to serve you with the same Fidelity and Attachment I have hitherto manifested towards him.” At the same time the Deputies who had been sent before to *Cæsar* by the Garrison, now waited on him a second time, offering to deliver up the Town next Day, upon a bare grant of their Lives : to which he reply’d, That he was *Cæsar*, and would perform his Word. Thus having made himself master of the Place the nineteenth of *February*, he was saluted Emperor by the Army.

XX. POMPEY being informed by some Deserters that the Town had surrendered, removed his Camp towards *Ucubis*, where he began to build Redoubts, and secure himself with Lines. *Cæsar* also decamped and drew near him. At the same time a *Spanish* legionary Soldier deserting to our Camp, informed us ; that *Pompey* had assembled the People of *Ucubis*, and given it them in charge to enquire diligently who favoured his Party, who that of the Enemy. Some time after, the Slave, who, as we have related above, had murdered his Master, was taken in a Mine and burnt alive. About the same time eight *Spanish* Centurions came over to *Cæsar* : and in a Skirmish between our Cavalry and that of the Enemy, we were repulsed, and some of our light-armed Foot wounded. The same Night we took four of the Enemy’s Spies. One, as being a legionary Soldier, was beheaded, but the other three, who were Slaves, were crucified.

XXI. THE Day following some of the Enemy’s Cavalry and light-armed Infantry deserted to us ; and about eleven of their Horse, falling upon a Party

Party of our Men that were sent to fetch Water, killed some, and took others Prisoners; amongst which last were eight Troopers. Next Day *Pompey* beheaded seventy-four Persons as favourers of *Cæsar's* Cause, ordering the rest who lay under the same Suspicion to be carried back to the Town, of whom an hundred and twenty escaped to *Cæsar*.

XXII. SOME time after, the Deputies of *Bursavola*, whom *Cæsar* had taken Prisoners in *Ategua*, and sent along with his own Ambassadors to their City, to inform them of the Massacre of the *Ateguans*, and what they had to apprehend from *Pompey*, who suffered his Soldiers to murder their Hosts, and commit all manner of Crimes with Impunity, arriving in the Town; none of our Deputies, except such as were Natives of the Place, durst enter the City, tho' they were all *Roman* Knights and Senators. But after many Messages backward and forward, when the Deputies were upon their Return, the Garrison pursued and put them all to the Sword, except two who escaped to *Cæsar*, and informed him of what had happened. Some time after, the *Bursavolenses* sending Spies to *Ategua*, to know the Truth of what had happened, and finding the Report of our Deputies confirmed, were for stoning to death him who had been the Cause of the Murder of the Deputies, and were with difficulty restrained from laying violent hands upon him, which in the end proved the occasion of their own Destruction. For having obtained leave of the Inhabitants to go in person to *Cæsar* and justify himself, he privately drew together some Troops, and when he thought himself strong enough, returned in the Night, and was treacherously admitted into the Town; where he made a dreadful Massacre of the Inhabitants, slew all the Leaders of the opposite Party,

Party, and reduced the Place under his Obedience. Soon after, some Slaves who had deserted informed us, that he had sold all the Goods of the Citizens, and that *Pompey* suffered none of his Soldiers to quit the Camp but unarmed, because since the taking of *Ategua*, many despairing of success fled into *Bethuria*, having given over all Expectation of Victory; and that if any deserted from our Camp, they were put among the light-armed Infantry, whose Pay was only sixteen Asles a Day.

XXIII. THE Day following *Cæsar* removed his Camp nearer to *Pompey's*, and began to draw a Line to the River *Salsus*. Here while our Men were employed in the Work, some of the Enemy fell upon us from the higher Ground, and as we were in no condition to make Resistance, wounded great Numbers, obliging us, contrary to custom, to retreat. This being perceived; two Centurions of the fifth Legion passed the River, and restored the Battle; when urging the Enemy with astonishing Bravery, one of them fell, overwhelmed by the multitude of Darts discharged from above. The other continued the Combat for some time; but seeing himself in danger of being surrounded, as he was endeavouring to make good his Retreat, he stumbled and fell. His Death being known, the Enemy flocked together in still greater Numbers, upon which our Cavalry passed the River, and drove them quite back to their Intrenchments; but pursuing them with too much heat, were surrounded by their Cavalry and light-armed Foot; where but for the most astonishing Efforts of Bravery, they must all unavoidably have been made Prisoners: for they were so hemmed in by the Enemy's Lines, that they wanted room to defend themselves. Many were wounded on our side in these two Encounters, and  
among



among the rest *Clodius Aquilius*; but as the Fight was carried on mostly at a distance, only the two Centurions, of whom mention has been already made, and whom the Desire of Glory rendered regardless of their own Safety, were killed.

XXIV. NEXT Day both Parties withdrawing from *Soricaria*, we continued our Works. But *Pompey* observing that our Fort had cut off his Communication with *Aspavia*, which is about five Miles distant from *Ucubis*, judged it necessary to come to a Battle. Yet he did not offer it upon equal terms, but chose to draw up his Men upon a Hill, that he might have the advantage of the higher Ground. Mean-while both sides endeavouring to possess themselves of an Eminence that lay extremely convenient, we at last got the better of the *Pompeians*, and drove them from the Plain. The Slaughter was very great, and would have been still greater, had they not been protected by the Mountain rather than their Valour. Night came on very opportunely to favour their Escape; without which our Men, tho' few in Number, would have entirely cut off their Retreat. *Pompey* lost on this occasion three hundred and twenty-four light-armed Foot, and about a hundred and thirty-eight legionary Soldiers, besides those whose Armour and Spoils we carried off. Thus the Death of the two Centurions, which happened the Day before, was fully revenged.

XXV. THE Day after, *Pompey's* Horse advanced according to their usual custom to our Lines; for only the Cavalry durst venture to draw up on equal Ground. They therefore began to skirmish with our Men who were at work, the Legionaries calling out to us at the same time to choose our Field of Battle,

Battle, with design to make us believe that they desired nothing so much as to come to Blows. Upon this Invitation our Men quitted the Eminence where they were encamped, and advanced a great way into the Plain, desiring no advantage of Ground. But none of the Enemy had the boldness to present themselves, *Antistius Turpio* excepted; who presuming on his Strength, and fancying no one on our side a match for him, offered us Defiance. Upon this ensued a Combat not unlike that recorded of *Memnon* and *Achilles*. For *Q. Pompeius Niger*, a Roman Knight born in Italy, quitting his Rank, advanced to the Encounter. The fierce Air of *Antistius* having engaged the Attention of all, the two Armies drew up to be Spectators of the issue of this Challenge, and expressed no less Impatience than if the whole fortune of the War had depended upon it; and the Wishes on both sides for Success, were equal to the Anxiety and Concern each felt for his own Combatant. They advanced into the Plain with great Courage, having each a resplendent Buckler of curious Workmanship. And doubtless the Combat would have been soon decided, had not some light-armed Foot, drawn up near the Lines, to serve as a Guard to the Camp, because of the approach of the Enemy's Horse. \* \* \* Our Horse in retreating to their Camp, being warmly pursued by the Enemy, suddenly faced about with great Cries; which so terrified the *Pompeians*, that they immediately betook themselves to flight, and retreated to their Camp with the loss of many of their Men.

XXVI. CÆSAR, to reward the Valour of the *Cassian* Troop, presented them with thirteen thousand *Sesterces*, distributed ten thousand more among the light-armed Foot, and gave *Cassius* himself two golden Chains. The same Day, *A. Bebius*, *C. Flavius*, and

and *A. Trebellius*, Roman Knights of *Asti*, with their Horses richly caparisoned and adorned with Silver, came over to *Cæsar*, and informed him; that all the rest of the Roman Knights in *Pompey's* Camp, had like them conspired to come and join him, but that a Discovery being made of their Design by a Slave, they had been all seized, themselves excepted, who during the Confusion found means to escape. The same Day Letters were intercepted, sent by *Pompey* to *Ursao*, importing. "That hitherto he had all  
 " the Success against the Enemy he could desire,  
 " and would have ended the War much sooner than  
 " was expected, could he have brought them to  
 " fight him upon equal terms: That he did not  
 " think it adviseable to venture new-levied Troops  
 " on a Plain: That the Enemy defending themselves  
 " with their Lines, seemed inclinable to draw out  
 " the War to length, investing City after City,  
 " and thence supplying themselves with Provisions:  
 " That he would therefore endeavour to protect the  
 " Towns of his Party, and bring the War to as  
 " speedy an issue as possible: That he would send  
 " them a Reinforcement of some Cohorts, and  
 " made no doubt of forcing *Cæsar* in a short time  
 " to an Engagement, by cutting off his Provi-  
 " sions."

XXVII. SOME time after, as our Men were care-  
 lessly dispersed about the Works, a few Horse were  
 killed, who had gone to a Forest of Olives to fetch  
 Wood. Several Slaves deserted at this time, and  
 informed us, that ever since the Action at *Soritia*  
 on the seventh of *March*, the Enemy had been un-  
 der continual Alarms, and appointed *Attius Varus*  
 to guard the Lines. The same Day *Pompey* de-  
 camped, and posted himself in an Olive-Wood  
 over-against *Hispalis*. *Cæsar*, before he removed,

waited till midnight, when the Moon began to appear. At his departure he ordered Fire to be set to the Fort of *Ucubis*, which the Enemy had abandoned, and that the whole Army should rendezvous in the greater Camp. He afterwards laid siege to *Ventisponte*, which surrendered; and marching thence to *Carruca*, encamped over-against *Pompey*, who had burnt the City, because the Garrison refused to open the Gates to him. A Soldier who had murdered his Brother in the Camp, being intercepted by our Men, was scourged and put to death. *Cæsar* still pursuing his March, arrived in the Plains of *Munda*, and pitched his Camp opposite to that of *Pompey*.

XXVIII. NEXT Day, as *Cæsar* was preparing to set out with the Army, notice was sent him by his Spies, that *Pompey* had been in order of Battle ever since midnight. Upon this Intelligence he ordered the Standard to be erected. *Pompey* had taken this Resolution in consequence of his Letter to the Inhabitants of *Ursao*, who were his firm Adherents, in which he told them that *Cæsar* refused to come down into the Plain, because his Army consisted mostly of new-levied Troops. This had greatly confirmed the City in its Allegiance, which therefore serving as a sure Resource behind him, he thought he might hazard a Battle without danger; and the rather, as he was very advantageously encamped: for as we observed before, this Country is full of Hills, which run in a continued Chain, without any considerable breaks or hollows.

XXIX. BUT we must by no means omit an Accident which fell out about this time. The two Camps were divided from one another by a Plain about five Miles in extent, insomuch that *Pompey*  
by



by his Situation enjoyed a double defence. On one side, the Town, seated on an eminence. On the other, the nature of the Ground where the Camp stood: for across this Valley ran a Rivulet, which rendered the Approach of the Mountain extremely difficult, because it formed a deep Morass on the right. *Cæsar* made no doubt but the Enemy would descend into the Plain and come to a Battle, and his whole Army were of the same mind; the rather because the Plain would give their Cavalry full room to act, and the Day was so serene and clear, that the Gods seemed to have sent it on purpose to bring on an Engagement. Our Men rejoiced at the favourable Opportunity: some however were not altogether exempt from fear, when they considered that their all was at Stake, and the uncertainty of what might be their Fate an Hour after. He advanced however to the Field of Battle, fully persuaded that the Enemy would do the same; but they durst not venture above a Mile from the Town, being determined to shelter themselves under its Walls. Our Men still continued before them in order of Battle; but although the equality of the Ground sometimes tempted them to come and dispute the Victory, they nevertheless still kept their Post on the Mountain, in the neighbourhood of the Town. We doubled our speed to reach the Rivulet, without their stirring from the Place where they stood.

XXX. THEIR Army consisted of thirteen Legions: the Cavalry was drawn up upon the Wings, with six thousand light-armed Infantry, and about the same number of Auxiliaries. We had only eighty heavy-armed Cohorts, and eight thousand Horse. When we came to the extremity of the Plain, as the Ground was very disadvantageous,

it would have been dangerous for us to advance farther, because the Enemy were ready to charge us from the Eminences: and therefore, that we might not rashly entangle ourselves, *Cæsar* had taken care to mark beforehand how far we might advance with safety. The Army when commanded to halt, murmured greatly, as if they had been kept back from a certain Victory. The delay however served to enliven the Enemy, who fancy'd that our Troops were afraid of coming to Blows. They therefore had the boldness to advance a little way, yet without quitting the advantage of their Post, the approach to which was extremely dangerous. The tenth Legion, as usual, was on the right; the third and fifth on the left, with the auxiliary Troops and Cavalry. At length the Battle began with a Shout.

XXXI. But though our Men were superior to the Enemy in Courage, they nevertheless defended themselves so well by the advantage of the higher Ground, the Shouts were so loud, and the discharge of Darts on both sides so great, that we almost began to despair of Victory. For the first Onset and Clamour, with which an Enemy is most apt to be dismayed, were pretty equal in the present Encounter. All fought with equal Valour, the Place was covered with Arrows and Darts, and great Numbers of the Enemy fell. We have already observed that the tenth Legion was on the right, which though not considerable for the number of Men, was nevertheless formidable on account of its Courage; and so pressed the Enemy on that side, that they were obliged to draw a Legion from the right Wing to reinforce the left, and prevent its being taken in flank. Upon this motion, our Cavalry on the left fell upon *Pompey's* right Wing, weakened

by the departure of the Legion: but they defended themselves with so much Bravery and Resolution, as to stand in need of no new Troops to support them. Mean-while the Clashing of Armour, mingled with the Shouts of the Combatants, and the Groans of the dying and wounded, terrified the new-raised Soldiers: for, as *Ennius* says, they fought Hand to Hand, Foot to Foot, and Shield to Shield. But though the Enemy fought with the utmost vigour, they were obliged to give ground, and retire towards the Town. The Battle was fought on the Feast of *Bacchus*, and the *Pompeians* were entirely routed and put to flight; insomuch that not a Man could have escaped, had they not sheltered themselves in the Place whence they advanced to the Charge. The Enemy lost on this occasion upwards of thirty thousand Men, and among the rest *Labienus* and *Attilius Varus*, whose funeral Obsequies were performed upon the Field of Battle. They had likewise three thousand Roman Knights killed, partly of *Italy*, partly of the Province. About a thousand were slain on our side, partly Foot, partly Horse; and five hundred wounded. We gained thirteen Eagles and Standards, and made seventeen Officers Prisoners. Such was the issue of this Action.

XXXII. THE remains of *Pompey's* Army retreating to *Munda*, with design to defend themselves in that Town; it became necessary to invest it. The dead Bodies of the Enemy, heaped together, served instead of a Rampart, and their Javelins and Darts were fixed up by way of Palisades. Upon these we hung their Bucklers to supply the Place of a Breast-work, and fixing the Heads of the deceased upon Swords and Lances, planted them all around the Works, to strike the greater Terror into the

the Besieged, and keep awake in them a sense of our Bravery. Amidst these mournful Objects did they find themselves shut in, when our Men began the Attack, which was managed chiefly by the Gauls. Young *Valerius*, who had escaped to *Cordova* with some Horse, informed *Sextus Pompey* of what had happened; who upon receipt of the mournful News, distributing what Money he had about him to the Troopers, left the Town about nine at Night, under pretence of going to find out *Cæsar*, to treat of an Accommodation. On the other side, *Cn. Pompey*, attended by a few Horse and Foot, took the Road of *Carteia*, where his Fleet lay, and which was about an hundred and seventy Miles distant from *Cordova*. When he was arrived within eight Miles of the Place, he sent *P. Calvitius* his Camp-marshal before, to fetch a Litter to carry him to the Town, because he found himself out of order. The Litter came, and when he entered the Town, those of his Party waited on him privately, to receive his Orders about the management of the War. As they assembled round the Place in great Crowds, *Pompey* quitting his Litter, put himself under their protection.

XXXIII. *CÆSAR*, after the Battle, seeing the Circumvallation of *Munda* compleated, marched to *Cordova*. Those of the Enemy who had escaped the Slaughter possessing themselves of a Bridge, upon the approach of our Men, called out to them with an Air of Derision, What? we are no more than a handful of Men escaped from the Battle, and shall we be allowed no Place of Retreat? Immediately they prepared to defend the Bridge. *Cæsar* passed the River and encamped on the other side. *Scapula*, who had stirred up the Freedmen to a Revolt, escaping after the Battle to *Cordova*; when



when he found himself besieged, assembled all his Followers, ordered a funeral Pile to be erected, and a magnificent Supper served up; when putting on his richest Dress, he distributed his Plate and ready Money among his Domesticks, supped chearfully, anointed himself once and again, and last of all, ordered one of his Freedmen to dispatch him, and another to set Fire to the Pile.

XXXIV. CÆSAR had no sooner encamped before the Place, than a division arose among the Inhabitants, between those who favoured *Cæsar*, and those who were in the Interest of *Pompey*, attended with so rude a Clamour, that it reached our Camp. During the Contest, some Legions, composed partly of Fugitives, partly of Slaves manumitted by *Pompey*, came and surrendered themselves to *Cæsar*. But the thirteenth Legion prepared to defend the Place, and with that view possessed themselves of the Walls and some Towers, in spite of all the opposition they met with; which obliged the other Party to send Deputies to *Cæsar* for aid. Upon this those who had escaped out of the Battle set fire to the Place, and our Men entering at the same time, slew about twenty-two thousand of them, besides those who were slain without the Walls; and thus became masters of the Town. Whilst *Cæsar* was employed in this Siege, those who were blocked up at *Munda* made a Sally, but were driven back into the Town with considerable loss.

XXXV. THENCE *Cæsar* marched to *Hispalis*, which sent Deputies to sue for Pardon, and obtained it. Tho' the Citizens assured him that they were able to defend the Town with their own Forces, he nevertheless thought proper to send *Caninius* his Lieutenant thither with some Troops, and encamp-

ed himself before the Place. There was in the Town a strong Party of *Pompeians*, who displeased to see *Cæsar's* Troops received within the Walls, deputed secretly one *Philo*, a zealous Partizan of *Pompey*, and well known in *Lusitania*, to beg assistance of *Cecilius Niger*, surnamed *the barbarous*, who lay encamped near *Lenius*, with a strong Army of *Lusitanians*. These approaching the Town towards Night, got over the Walls, surpris'd the Centinels and Garrison, shut the Gates, and began to defend the Place.

XXXVI. DURING these Transactions, Deputies arrived from *Carteia*, with accounts of their having secured *Pompey*; hoping by this Service to atone for their former Fault of shutting the Gates against *Cæsar*. Mean-time the *Lusitanians* in *Hispanis*, still continued pillaging the Town, which tho' known to *Cæsar*, did not yet determine him to press it too hard, lest they should in despair set fire to the Town, and destroy the Walls. It was resolved in Council to suffer the *Lusitanians* to escape in the Night by a Sally, yet so that the thing might not appear designed. In this Sally, they set fire to the ships that were in the River *Bætis*, and while our Men were employed in extinguishing the Flames, endeavoured to get off; but being overtaken by the Cavalry, were mostly cut to pieces. Thence he marched to *Asta*, which submitted. *Munda* having been now a long while besieged, many of those who had escaped out of the Battle, despairing of safety, surrendered to us; and being formed into a Legion, conspired among themselves, that upon a Signal given, the Garrison should sally out in the Night, while they at the same time should begin a massacre in the Camp. But the Plot being discovered, they were next Night, at the changing of the  
third

third Watch, all put to death without the Rampart.

XXXVII. THE *Carteians*, while *Cæsar* was employed in reducing the other Towns upon his rout, fell into a Diffention about young *Pompey*. There were two Parties in the Town, one that had sent the Deputies to *Cæsar*, and another in the *Pompeian* Interest. These last prevailing, seized the Gates, and made a dreadful slaughter of their Adversaries. *Pompey* himself was wounded in the Fray, but escaping to his Ships, fled with about thirty Gallies. *Didius*, who was at *Cadiz* with *Cæsar*'s Fleet, hearing of what had happened, immediately sailed in pursuit of them; stationing at the same time some Cavalry and Infantry along the Coast, to prevent his getting off by Land. *Pompey* had departed with so much precipitation from *Carteia*, that he took no time to furnish himself with Water, which obliging him to stop by the way, *Didius* came up with him after four Days sailing, took some of his Ships, and burnt the rest.

XXXVIII. POMPEY, with a few Followers, escaped to a Place strongly fortified by Nature; of which the Troops sent in pursuit of him having certain Intelligence by their Scouts, followed Day and Night. He was wounded in the Shoulder and left Leg, and had besides strained his Ankle, all which greatly retarded his Flight, and obliged him to make use of a Litter. A *Lusitanian* having discovered the Place of his retreat, he was quickly surrounded by our Cavalry and Cohorts. Seeing himself betrayed, he took refuge in a Post naturally strong, and which could easily be defended by a few Men, because the approach to it was extremely difficult. We attempted

tempted to storm it, but were repulsed, and vigorously pursued by the Enemy; and meeting with no better Success after several trials, we at length resolved to lay siege to the Place, it seeming too hazardous to force it. Accordingly a Trench was raised, and Lines drawn round the Place; which the Enemy perceiving, thought proper to betake themselves to flight.

XXXIX. POMPEY, as we have observed above, being lame and wounded, was in no condition to make a speedy Retreat; and the rather, because the Place was such, that he could use neither Horse nor Litter. He saw his People driven from the Fort, massacred on all sides, and himself left without resource. In this Extremity he fled to a Cave, where he could not easily be discovered, unless he was betrayed by the Prisoners. Here he was slain, and his Head brought to *Cæsar* the twelfth of *April*, just as he was setting out for *Hispalis*, and afterwards exposed to the view of the People.

XL. AFTER the death of young *Pompey*, *Didius*, proud of his Success, hauled some of his Vessels ashore to be refitted, and retired himself to a neighbouring Fort. The *Lusitanians* who had escaped from the Battle of *Munda*, rallying in great Bodies, found themselves strong enough to make head against him. Tho' the preservation of the Fleet was what principally engaged his Attention, he was yet necessitated to make frequent Sallies, to check the Insolence of the Enemy. These daily Skirmishes gave them an opportunity of projecting an Ambuscade; for which purpose they divided their Troops into three Bodies. *Didius* sallied according to Custom; when upon a Signal given, one of the



Parties advanced to set fire to the Fleet; and another counterfeiting a Retreat, drew him insensibly into the Ambuscade, where he was surrounded and slain with most of his Followers fighting valiantly. Some escaped in Boats which they found upon the Coast; others made for the Gallies by swimming; and weighing Anchor, stood out to Sea. A great many saved themselves in this manner, but the *Lusitanians* got all the Baggage. *Cæsar* mean-while returned from *Cales* to *Hispalis*.

XLII. *FABIUS MAXIMUS*, whom he had left to continue the Siege of *Munda*, carried on the Approaches with great success; insomuch that the Enemy seeing themselves shut up on all sides, resolved to attempt a Sally: but were repulsed with great loss. Our Men seized this Opportunity to get possession of the Town, and made all the rest Prisoners. Thence they drew towards *Ursao*, a Town exceedingly strong both by Nature and Art, and capable of resisting an Enemy. For there is not so much as a Rivulet within eight Miles of the Place, nor any Spring, but that which supplies the Town. Add to all this, that the Wood necessary for building Towers and other Machines, was to be fetched from a distance of six miles; because young *Pompey*, to render the Siege more difficult, had cut down all the Wood round the Place; which obliged our Men to bring all the Materials for carrying on the Siege from *Munda*.

XLIII. DURING these Transactions at *Munda* and *Ursao*, *Cæsar*, who was returned from *Cales* to *Hispalis*, assembled the Citizens, and made the following Speech: "That when he was advanced to  
" the Quæstorship, he had chosen their Province  
" preferably to all others, and during his conti-  
" nuance

“ nuance in that Office, done them every service in  
 “ his power : That during his Prætorship, he had  
 “ obtained for them of the Senate the abolition of  
 “ the Taxes imposed by *Metellus*, declared himself  
 “ their Patron, procured their Deputies a hearing  
 “ at *Rome*, and made himself many Enemies, by  
 “ undertaking the defence both of their private and  
 “ publick Rights. In fine, that when he was  
 “ Consul, he had, tho’ absent, rendered the Pro-  
 “ vince all the Services in his power : That instead  
 “ of making a suitable return for so many Favours,  
 “ they had always discovered the utmost Ingrati-  
 “ tude, both towards him and the People of *Rome*,  
 “ as well in this last War as the preceding. You,  
 “ says he, tho’ no strangers to the Law of Nations,  
 “ and the Rights of *Roman* Citizens, have yet like  
 “ Barbarians often violated the sacred Persons of  
 “ *Roman* Magistrates. You attempted in open  
 “ Day, in the publick Square, to assassinate *Cassius*.  
 “ You have been always such Enemies to Peace,  
 “ that the Senate could never suffer the Province to  
 “ be without Legions. You take Favours for Of-  
 “ fences, and Insults for Benefits, are insolent and  
 “ restless in Peace, and cowardly and effeminate in  
 “ War. Young *Pompey*, tho’ only a private Ci-  
 “ tizen, nay a Fugitive, was yet received among  
 “ you, and suffered to assume the Ensigns of Ma-  
 “ gistracy. After putting many Citizens to death,  
 “ you still furnished him with Forces, and even  
 “ urged him to lay waste the Country and Pro-  
 “ vince. Against whom do you hope to be vic-  
 “ torious ? Can you be ignorant, that upon the  
 “ supposition of my Overthrow, the People of  
 “ *Rome* have still ten Legions, capable not only of  
 “ making head against you, but of bringing the  
 “ whole Earth under subjection.” \* \* \* \* \*

# AN INDEX OF Ancient and modern GEOGRAPHY to CÆSAR'S COMMENTARIES.

N. B. The Words in Roman Letters denote the ancient Names, and those in Italick the Modern.

- A
- A** Carnania, a Region of Epirus, *Carnia*.  
*Achaia*, sometimes taken for all Greece; but most commonly for a Part of it only, in Peloponnesus, *Romania alta*.  
*Acilla*, or *Acholla*, a City of Africa, unknown.  
*Actium*, a Promontory of Epirus, now called the *Cape of Tigalo*, famous for a naval Victory gained near it, by Augustus, over M. Antony.  
*Addua*, the *Adda*, a River that arises in the Alps, and parting the Dutchy of Milan, from the State of Venice, falls into the Po, above Cremona.  
*Adduafdubis*, a River of Burgundy, the *Doux*.  
*Adriatick Sea*, the *Gulph of Venice*, at the Bottom of which that City is situate.  
*Adrumetum*, a Town in Africa, *Mahometta*.  
*Ædui*, the *Autunois*, a People of Gaul, near *Autun*, in the Country now called Lower Burgundy.  
*Ægean Sea*, the *Archipelago*, a Part of the Mediterranean, which lies between Greece, Asia Minor, and the Isle of Crete.  
*Ægimurus*, an Island in the African Sea, *Galetta*.  
*Æginium*, a Town of Thesaly.  
*Ægyptus*, *Egypt*, one of the most ancient, fertile, and celebrated Kingdoms in Africa.  
*Æmilia Via*, a Roman Road in Italy, from Rimini to Aquileia, and from Pisa to Dertona.  
*Ætolia*,

## I N D E X of the Names of Places.

- Ætolia**, a Country of Greece, *Despotato*.
- Africa**, one of the four great Continents into which the Earth is divided.
- Agar**, a Town in Africa, unknown.
- Agadicum**, a City of the Senones, *Sens*.
- Alba**, a Town of Latium in Italy, *Albano*.
- Albici**, a People of Gaul unknown, some make them the same with the *Vivarois*.
- Albis**, the *Elbe*, a large and noble River in Germany, which has its source in the Giants Mountains in Silesia, on the Confines of Bohemia, and passing through Bohemia, upper and lower Saxony, falls into the North Sea at Ritzbittel, about sixty Miles below Hamburg.
- Alemanni**, a People of ancient Germany, who inhabited between the Maine, the Rhine, and the Danube, and from whom the French still give this Name to all the Germans.
- Alemanina**, the Country inhabited by the Alemanni.
- Alesia**, or *Alexia*, a Town of the Mandubians, *Alise*.
- Alexandria**, a City of Egypt, *Scanderia*. It was built by Alexander the Great, 330 Years before Christ.
- Aliso**, by some supposed to be the Town now called *Iselburg*; or, according to Junius, *Wesel*, in the Dutchy of Cleves; but more probably *Elfen*.
- Allobroges**, an ancient People of Gallia Transalpina, who inhabited that Country which is now called *Dauphiny*, *Savoy*, and *Piedmont*.
- Alps**, a Ridge of high Mountains, which separate France and Germany from Italy. That part of them which separate Dauphiny from Piedmont, had the name of the Cottian Alps.
- Alfatia**, a Province of Germany, in the upper Circle of the Rhine, *Alsace*.
- Amagetobria**, a City of Gaul, unknown.
- Amantia**, a Town in Macedonia, *Porto Raguseo*.
- Amanus**, a Mountain of Syria, *Scanderona*.
- Amani Pylæ**, or *Amanicæ Portæ*, *Straits of Scanderona*.
- Aambarri**, a People of Gaul, uncertain.
- Ambialites**, a People of Gaul, of *Lamballe in Bretagne*. Others take the Word to be only a different Name for the Ambiani.
- Ambiani**, or *Ambianenses*, the People of *Amiens*.
- Ambianum**, a City of Belgium, *Amiens*.
- Ambibari**, a People of Gaul, those of *Ambie* in Normandy.
- Ambivareti**, a People of Gaul, the *Vivarois*.
- Ambivariti**, an ancient People of *Brabant*, between the Rhine and the Maese.
- Ambracia**, a City of Epirus, *Arta*.
- Ambrones**, an ancient People, who lived in that Country, which is now called the *Canton of Bern*, in Switzerland.
- Amphilochia**, a Region of Epirus, *Anfilocha*.
- Amphipolis**, a City of Macedonia, *Cristopoli*, or *Emboli*.
- Anartes**, a People of Germany, *Walachians*, *Servians*, or *Bulgarians*.
- Anas**, a River of Spain, the *Guadiana*, or *Rio Roydera*.
- Ancalites**, a People of Britain, of the Hundred of *Henley*, in Oxfordshire.
- Anchialos,



## I N D E X of the Names of Places.

Anchialos, a City of Thrace, near the Euxine Sea, now called *Kenkis*.

Ancona, a City of Italy, *Ancona*.

Andes, *Angers*, in France, the Capital of the Dutchy of Anjou.

Andes, a People of Gaul, the ancient Inhabitants of the Dutchy of Anjou.

Andomadunum Lingonum, a large and ancient City of Champagne, at the Source of the River Marne, *Langres*.

Angrivarii, an ancient People of lower Germany, who dwelt between the Ems and the Weser, below the Lippe.

Ansibarii, or Ansvarii, an ancient People of lower Germany, of and about the Town of *Ansebaet*, or *Amstlin*.

Antioch, *Antachia*, an ancient and famous City, once the Capital of Syria, or rather of the East: It is situate on two Rivers, the Orontes and the Phaspar, not far from the Mediterranean.

Apamea, *Apami*, a City of Bythinia, built by Nicomedes, the Son of Prusias.

Apenine Alps, part of the Alps so called, which run from the other Alps through the middle of Italy.

Apollonia, a City of Macedonia, *Piergo*.

Aponiana, an Island near the Promontory of Lilybæum in Sicily.

Appia Via, the Appian Highway, which led from Rome into Campania, and from the Sea to Brundisium.

Apsus, a River of Macedonia, the *Aspro*.

Apulia, a Region of Italy, *la Puglia*.

Aquilaria, a Town of Africa near Clupea.

Aquileia, formerly a famous and considerable City of Italy, not far from the Adriatick, now little more than a heap of Ruins, *Aquilegia*.

Aquitain, the third Part of ancient Gaul, now containing *Guienne*, *Gascony*, &c.

Aquitani, the People inhabiting Aquitain.

Arar, or Araris, a River of Gaul, the *Saone*.

Arduenna silva, the Forest of *Ardenne* in France, reaching from the Rhine, to the City of Tournay, in the Low Countries.

Arelate, or Arelatum, a City of Gaul, *Arles*.

Argentuarina, the Castle of *Herburg*, near the City of Colmar, in upper Alsace.

Argentoratum, *Strasbourg*, a City of Germany, anciently the Capital of the Tribocci, on the Rhine, now the chief City of Alsace, belonging to the French.

Argos, a noted City of Peloponnesus, of which Juno was tutelary Goddess, *Argo*.

Ariminum, a City of Italy, *Rimini*.

Armenia, a Country of Asia, divided into the greater and lesser, and now called *Turcomania*.

Armorici, the ancient People of Armorica, a part of Gallia Celtica, now *Bretagne*.

Arretium, a City of Hetruria in Italy, *Arezzo*.

Artesia, a Province of the Spanish Netherlands, *Artois*.

Arverni, an ancient People of France, on the Loire, whose chief City was Arvernum, now *Clermont*, the Capital of *Auvergne*.

Asciburgum, a City of ancient Germany,

## I N D E X of the Names of Places.

Germany, between Vetera and Gelduba. The present City of Aschafenburg, in Franconia, is so called; but, by the Situation, does not seem to be this.

Asculum, a Town of Italy, *Ascoli*.

Ascurum, a maritime City of Mauritania, unknown.

Asparagium, a Town in Macedonia, unknown.

Aspavia, a Town in Hispania Bætica, *Espejo*.

Affona, a River of Champagne, in France, which runs into the Oise, near Compeigne, now called the *Aisne*.

Asta, a Town in Hispania Bætica, *Massa de Asta*.

Asta, *Asti*, the Capital of the Country of the same Name, on the River Tanaro, in Piedmont.

Astigi, or Astingi, a People of Andalusia in Spain.

Athens, one of the most ancient and noble Cities of Greece, the Capital of Attica.

Athos, a Mountain in Macedonia, in the Province of Jamboli, which runs into the Ægean Sea, like a Peninsula, and is ninety Miles in Compass.

Ategua, a Town in Hispania Bætica, *Tebala Veja*.

Atrebates, an ancient People of Gaul, who lived in that Part of the Netherlands, which is now called *Artois*.

Attica, a Country of Greece, between Achaia and Macedonia, famous on account of its Capital, Athens.

Attuarii, a People of ancient Germany, who inhabited between the Maese and the Rhine, whose Country is now a Part of the Dutchy of *Gueldres*.

Atuatica, the Capital of the Eburones, now *Tongres* in Brabant.

Atuatici, the Inhabitants of those Parts, the Remains of the Cimbri.

Avaricum, a City of Aquitain, the Capital of the Biturigians, *Bourges*.

Augusta Nemetum, *Spire*, an ancient City of Germany, in the now upper Circle of the Rhine, and on that River.

Augusta Rauracorum, *Augst*, now a Village only; but a famous Pass in Swisserland, on the Rhine, two German Miles from Brasil.

Augusta Trevirorum, *Triers*, a very ancient City in lower Germany, on the Mosel, said to have been built by Trebetas, the Brother of Ninus, 1496 Years before Christ; made a Roman Colony in the time of Augustus, and afterwards the most famous City of Gallia Belgica. It was for some time the Seat of the Western Empire, now only the Seat of the Ecclesiastical Elector of that Name.

Augusta Vangionum, *Worms*, a City of Germany, within the Bounds of the Palatinate, free and Imperial, on the Western Bank of the Rhine.

Augusta Vindelicorum, *Augsbург*, a famous City of Germany, and a Place of great Trade; a free Imperial City, the Capital of Suabia, on the Lech, not far from the Danube; famous for the Augustan Confession.

Augustodunum, *Autun*, a very ancient City of Burgundy, on the River Arroux.

Aulerci Ebuovices, a People of Gaul, the Country of *Evreux*, in Normandy.

Aulerci Brannovices, a People of Gaul, *Morienne*.

Aulerci Cenomanni, a People of Gaul, the Country of *Maine*.

Aulerci

## I N D E X of the Names of Places.

Aulerci Diablintes, a People of Gaul, *le Perche*.

Aufci, a People of Gaul, those of *Auchs* or *Aux*, in Gascony.

Aufetani, a People of Spain, under the Pyrenean Mountains.

Auximum, a Town in Italy; *Osimo*, or *Osno*.

Axona, a River of Belgic Gaul, the *Aisne*.

### B

Bacenis, a Forest of ancient Germany, which parted the Suevi from the Cherusci, by some supposed to be the Forests of *Thuringia*, by others the *Black Forest*.

Bætica, in the ancient Geography, about a third Part of Spain, containing *Andalusia*, and a Part of *Granada*.

Betis, a River of Spain, now called the *Guadalquivir*.

Bagaudæ, an ancient People of Gaul, who twice revolted from the Romans, and were both times defeated.

Bagrada, a River of Africa; near *Utica*, the *Megrada*.

Baleares Insulæ, several Islands in the Mediterranean Sea, formerly so called; of which *Majorca* and *Minorca* are the chief.

Basilea, *Basle*, a City of ancient Germany, now the principal City of all Switzerland, on the Rhine.

Batavi, the ancient Inhabitants of the Island of Batavia.

Batavia, or Batavorum Insula; *Holland*, a Part of which still retains the Name of *Batavia*.

Belgæ, the Inhabitants of Gallia Belgica. The original Belgæ were supposed to be of German Extraction; but passing the Rhine, settled themselves in Gaul.

Belgia, Belgium, or Gallia Belgica, the *Low Countries*, or *Netherlands*.

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Bellocassi, or Velocasses, a People of Gaul, inhabiting the Country of *Bayeux* in Normandy.

Bellovaci, an ancient renowned People among the Belgæ, inhabiting the Country now called *Beauvais* in France.

Bergea, a City of Macedonia, now called *Veria*.

Bessii, a People of Thrace, *Bessarabia*.

Bethuria, a Region of Hispania Lusitanica, *Estremadura*.

Betones, or Berones, a People of Hispania Tarraconensis, *Bitorones*.

Bibraacte, a Town of Burgundy, now called *Autun*, the Capital of the *Ædui*.

Bibrax, a Town of Rheims, *Braine*, or *Bresne*.

Bibroci, a People of Britain, according to Camden, the *Hundred of Bray*, in Berkshire.

Bigerfiones, a People of Gaul, inhabiting the Country now called *Bigorre*, in Gascony.

Bithynia, a Country of Asia Minor, adjoining to Troas, over against Thrace, *Bessangial*.

Bituriges, a People of Guienne, in France, of the Country of *Berry*.

Bœotia, a Country in Greece; parted from Attica, by Mount *Cithæron*. It had formerly several other Names, and was famous for its Capital, *Thebes*; but is now called *Stramulipa*.

Boii, an ancient People of Germany, who passing the Rhine, settled in Gaul, the *Bourbonnois*.

Borani, an ancient People of Germany, supposed by some to be the same as the *Burii*.

Bosphorani, a People bordering upon the Euxine Sea, the *Tartars*.

Bosphorus, two Straits of the Sea, so called; one *Bosphorus*

R

*Thracius*,



## I N D E X of the Names of Places.

*Thracius*, now the Straits of *Constantinople*; the other *Bosphorus Cimmerius*, now the Straits of *Caffa*.

*Brannovices*, the People of *Morienne*, in France.

*Bratuspantium*, a City of Gaul, belonging to the *Bellovaci*, *Beauvais*.

*Britannia*, *Britain*, an Island containing *England*, *Scotland*, and *Wales*.

*Brueteri*, an ancient People of the Netherlands, in East-Friesland, afterwards called *Braeckmoreland*.

*Brundisium*, a City of Italy, *Brindisi*.

*Brutii*, a People of Italy, the *Calabrians*.

*Bucinobantes*, an ancient People of Germany, who lived opposite to *Mentz*.

*Bulgaria*, a Part of the Lower *Mæsia*, between Mount *Hæmus* and the *Danube*.

*Bullis*, a Town in *Macedonia*, unknown.

*Burii*, an ancient People of Germany, who inhabited the Island of *Bornholm*.

*Bursavolenses*, a People of *Hispania Bætica*, thought to be the same with the *Urfaonenses*.

*Buthrotum*, a City of *Epirus*, *Butrinto*, or *Botronto*.

*Byzantium*, an ancient City of *Thrace*, called at several times *Ligos*, *Nova Roma*, and now *Constantinople*.

*Byzazyna*, a City and Province of *Africa*, within the Kingdom of *Tunis*.

### C

*Cabillonum*, a City of ancient Gaul, *Chalons sur Saône*.

*Cadetes*, a People of Gaul, unknown.

*Cadurci*, a People of Gaul, inhabiting the Country of *Quercy*.

*Cæcinus*, a River of *Locris*, in ancient Greece.

*Cæresi*, a People of Belgic Gaul, inhabiting the Country round *Namur*.

*Cæsarea*, the chief City of *Capadocia*.

*Cæsia Silva*, the *Cælian* Forest, supposed to be a Part of the *Hercynian* Forest, about the Dutchy of *Cleves* and *Westphalia*.

*Calagurritani*, a People of *Hispania Tarraconensis*, inhabiting the Province of *Calaberra*.

*Caletes*, an ancient People of Belgic Gaul, inhabiting the Country called *Le Pais de Caule*, in *Normandy*, betwixt the *Seine* and the *Sea*.

*Caletum*, the Town of *Calais*, in *Picardy*, over-against *Dover*.

*Calydon*, a City of *Ætolia*, *Ayton*.

*Camerinum*, a City of *Umbria*, in Italy, *Camarino*.

*Campania*, the pleasantest Part of Italy, in the Kingdom of *Naples*, now called *Terra di Lavoro*.

*Campi Canini*, a Place in the *Milaneze*, in Italy, not far from *Belizona*.

*Campi Catalaunici*, supposed to be the large Plain, which begins about two Miles from *Chalons sur Marne*.

*Candavia*, a Country of *Macedonia*, *Canovia*.

*Caninefates*, an ancient People of the lower Part of Germany, near *Batavia*, about where *Gorckum*, on the *Mæse*, in *South Holland*, now is.

*Cannæ*, a poor Village in *Apulia*.



## I N D E X of the Names of Places.

lia, famous only for a great Overthrow of the Romans there by Hannibal.

Canopus, *Bochir*, a famous City of Egypt, whence the Canopic Branch of the Nile derived its Name.

Cantabri, an ancient warlike People of Spain, properly of the Provinces of *Guipuscoa* and *Biscay*.

Cantium, a Part of England, the County of *Kent*.

Canosium, a City of Apulia in Italy, *Ganosa*.

Capitol, one of the seven Hills in ancient Rome, on which the Romans had a famous Fortrefs, founded by *Tarquinius Priscus*, and perfected by *Tarquinius Superbus*.

Cappadocia, a large Country in Asia Minor, upon the Euxine Sea.

Caprea, *Capreae*, an Island on the Coast of Campania.

Capua, *Capoa*, a City in the Kingdom of Naples, in the Province di Lavoro.

Carales, a City of Sardinia, *Cagliari*.

Caralitani, the People of *Cagliari*, in Sardinia.

Carbillo, a City of Spain, near Corduba.

Carcafo, a City of Gaul, *Carcassone*.

Carmona, a Town of Hispania Baetica, *Carmona*.

Carni, an ancient People, who inhabited a Part of Noricum, whose Country is yet called *Carniola*.

Carnutes, an ancient People of France, inhabiting the Territory, yet called *Chartrain*.

Carpi, an ancient People near the Danube.

Carrucca, a Town in Spain, uncertain.

Carteia, a Town in Spain, *Algevisia*, or *Tariffa*.

Carthago, once the most famous City of Africa, the Rival of Rome, built by Queen *Dido*, about seventy Years after Rome, according to some; but *Justin* will have it built before Rome; *Appian* before the Destruction of Troy; and *Vossius* before Tyre itself.

Carthago nova; *Carthagená*, a City of Murcia, in Spain, built by *Asdrubal*, General of the Carthaginians.

Casilinum, a Town in Italy, *Castelluzzo*.

Caspian Sea, a vast Lake between Persia, Great Tartary, Muscovy and Georgia, said to be six hundred Miles long, and near as broad.

Cassandrea, a City of Macedonia, *Cassandria*.

Cassi, a People of ancient Britain, the Hundred of *Cadishow*, in Hertfordshire.

Castellum Menapiorum, *Kessel*, a Town in Brabant, on the River Neerfe, not far from the Maese.

Castra Posthumiana, a Town in Hispania Baetica, *Castro el Rio*.

Castra Vetera, an ancient City in Lower Germany, in the Dutchy of Cleves; some say where *Santon*, others where *Byrthen* now is.

Castulonensis Saltus, a City of Hispania Tarraconensis, *Castón la Vieja*.

Catti, an ancient People of Germany, who inhabited Part of the Country now called *Hesse*, and *Thuringia*; from the Mountains of Hartz, to the Weser and the Rhine.

Catuaci, corrupted probably from *Atuatici*. Some make them the same with the People of *Douay*, in France.

## I N D E X of the Names of Places.

Caturiges, an ancient People of Gaul, inhabiting the Country of *Embrun*, or *Ambrun*, alias *Charges*.

Cebenna Mons, the Mountains of the *Cevennes*, in Gaul, separating the Helvians from Auverge.

Celeja, a City of Noricum *Mediterraneum*, now *Citley*.

Celetæ, a People of Thrace, about the Mountains of Rhodope and Hæmûs.

Celtæ, an ancient People of Gaul, in that Part called Gallia Comata, between the Garumna and Sequana, from whom that Country was likewise called Gallia Celtica.

Celtiberi, an ancient People of Spain, descended from the Celtæ, who settled about the River Iberus, or *Ebro*, from whom the Country was called Celtiberia, now *Arragon*.

Cenimagni, or Iceni, an ancient People of Britain, inhabiting the Countries of *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, *Cambridgeshire*, and *Huntingtonshire*.

Cenis Mons, that Part of the Alps which separates Savoy from Piedmont.

Cenni, an ancient People of Celtic Extraction.

Cenomani, a People of Gallia Celtica, in the Country now called *Le Manséau*, next adjoining to that of the Insulres.

Centrones, an ancient People of Flanders, about the City of *Courtray*, dependent on the Nervians.

Centrones, an ancient People of Gaul, inhabiting the Country of Tarantaife.

Cerauni Montes, Mountains of Epirus, *Monti di Chimera*.

Cercina, an Island on the Coast of Africa, *Chercara*, *Cercare*.

Cherronesus, a Peninsula of Africa, near Alexandria.

Chersonesus Cimbrica, a Peninsula on the Baltick, now *Jutland*, Part of *Holstein*, *Ditmarsh*, and *Sleswic*.

Cherusci, a great and warlike People of ancient Germany, between the Elbe and the Weser, about the Country, now called *Mansfeld*, Part of the Dutchy of *Brunswick*, and the Dioceses of *Hildesheim*, and *Halberstadt*.

Chiavenna, the Capital of a Country of that Name, on the River Meira, with a strong Castle, in Switzerland.

Chrysopolis, a City of Bithynia, now called *Scutari*, opposite to Constantinople.

Cimbri, the *Jutlanders*, a very ancient northern People, who inhabited Chersonesus Cimbrica.

Cimmerii, an ancient People near the Euxine Sea, whence the Bosphorus Cimmerius, *Tartars*.

Cinga, a River of Spain, *Cinca*, or *Senga*.

Cingulum, a Town of Picenum in Italy, *Cingoli*.

Cirta, a Town in Africa, *Constantina*, or *Consantina*, al. *Tadel*.

Clupea, a maritime City of Africa, *Quipia*.

Cocates, a People of Gaul, according to some the *Bazadois*.

Coimbra, an ancient City of Portugal, once destroyed, but now rebuilt, on the River *Mendego*.

Colchis, a Country in Asia, near Pontus, including the present *Mingrelia*, and *Georgia*.

Comana Pontica, a City of Asia Minor, *Com*, or *Tabachzan*.

Comana of Cappadocia, *Arminacha*.

Compfa, a City of Italy, *Conza*, or *Consa*.

Concordia,

## I N D E X of the Names of Places.

Concordia, an ancient City of the Province of *Triuli*, in Italy, now in Ruins.

Condrusi, or Condrusones, an ancient People of Belgium, dependent on the Treviri, whose Country is yet called *Condrotz*, between Liege and Namur.

Confluent Mosi & Rheni, *Cob-lentz*.

Corcyra, an Island of Epirus, *Corfu*.

Corduba, a City of Hispania Bætica, *Cordova*.

Corfinium, a Town belonging to the Peligni in Italy, *St. Pelino*, al. *Pentna*.

Corinth, a famous and rich City of Achaia in Italy, in the Middle of the Isthmus, going into Peloponnesus.

Corneliana Castra, a City of Africa, between Carthage and Utica.

Corfica, a considerable Island in the Mediterranean Sea, near Sardinia, which still retains its Name, and at present belongs to the Genoese.

Cosanum, a City of Calabria in Italy, *Cassano*.

Cremona, an ancient City of Gallia Cisalpina, which retains its Name to this Day, and is the Metropolis of the *Cremonese* in Italy.

Crete, one of the noblest Islands in the Mediterranean Sea, now called *Candia*.

Ctesiphon, a Town of Assyria, over-against Seleucia.

Curiosolitæ, a People of Gaul, inhabiting *Cornouaille* in Bretagne.

Cyclades, Islands in the Ægean Sea, *L'Isle dell' Archipelago*.

Cyprus, an Island in the Mediterranean Sea, between Syria and Cilicia, *Cipro*.

Cyrene, an ancient and once a fine City of Africa, situate over-

against Matapan, the most southern Cape of Morea, *Cairoan*.

Cyzicus, *Chizico*, formerly one of the largest Cities of Asia Minor, in an Island of the same Name, on the White Sea.

### D

Dacia, an ancient Country of Scythia, beyond the Danube, containing Part of Hungary, *Transylvania*, *Walachia* and *Moldavia*.

Dalmatia, a Part of Illyricum, now called *Sclavonia*, lying between Croatia, Bosnia, Servia, and the Adriatick Gulph.

Danube, the largest River in Europe, which has its rise in Suabia, and after flowing thro' that Country, Bavaria, Aultria, Hungary, Servia, Bulgaria, Moldavia, Bessarabia, and part of Tartary, taking in its Course a great Number of noted Rivers, some say sixty, falls into the Black or Euxine Sea, in two Arms.

Dardania, the ancient Name of a Country in upper Mœsia, which became afterwards a part of Dacia; *Rascia*, and part of *Servia*.

Decetia, a Town in Gaul, *Decise* on the Loire.

Delphi, a City of Achaia, *Delpho*, al. *Salona*.

Delta, a very considerable Province of Egypt, at the Mouth of the Nile, *Errif*.

Diablites, an ancient People of Gaul, inhabiting the Country called *Le Perche*; al. *Diableres* in Bretagne; al. *Lintes* of Brabant; al. *Lendoul*, over-against Britain.

Dubis, a River of Burgundy, *Le Doux*.

Duratum, commonly supposed to be a City of Gaul, in the Province of Poitou; but in fact Cæsar uses Duratius for the Name of a Nobleman of considerable Rank.



## I N D E X of the Names of Places.

**Durocortorum**, a City of Gaul, *Rheims*.

**Dyrrhachium**, a City of Macedonia, *Durazzo, Drazzi*.

### E

**Eburones**, an ancient People of Germany, inhabiting Part of the Country now the Bishoprick of *Liege*, and the County of *Namur*.

**Ebuovices**, a People of Gaul, inhabiting the Country of *Eureux*, in Normandy.

**Egypt**, one of the most ancient, fertile, and celebrated Kingdoms in Africa.

**Elaver**, a River of Gaul, *the Allier*.

**Eleutheri**, a People of Celtic Gaul, *la Rouergue*.

**Elis**, a City of Peloponnesus, *Belvidere*.

**Elufates**, an ancient People of Gaul, inhabiting the Country of *Euse*, in Gascony.

**Ephesus**, an ancient and celebrated City of Asia Minor, *Efeso*.

**Epidaurus**, a maritime City of Dalmatia, *Ragusa*.

**Epirus**, a Country in Greece, between Macedonia, Achaia, and the Ionian Sea, by some now called *Albania inferior*.

**Essui**, a People of Gaul; those of *Seex*, but the Word seems rather a corruption from *Ædui*.

**Eusubii**, corrupted from *Unelli*, or *Lexovii*, properly the People of *Lisieux*, in Normandy.

### F

**Fanum**, a City of Umbria in Italy, *Fano*.

**Fesole**, an ancient City of Italy, in the Duchy of Florence, anciently one of the twelve considerable Cities of *Etruria*.

**Finni**, an ancient People of Prussia.

**Flavum**, anciently reckoned the eastern Mouth of the Rhine, now called the *Ulie*, and is a Passage out of the Zuyder Sea into the North Sea.

**Forum Flaminii**, a City of Umbria, three Miles from Fulginium, yet called *Forflamine*.

**Forum Julium**, *Frejus*, an ancient Town on the Coast of Provence, in France.

**Fossa Mariana**, a Canal made by C. Marius, near Marseilles, for the Conveyance of Ships from the Sea, into the Rhone.

**Fossæ Marianæ**, a City of Gallia Narbonensis, now called *Aigues Mortes*.

**Frentani**, an ancient People of Italy, *Abruzzo, Capitanata*.

**Frisii**, the ancient Inhabitants of *Friesland*.

### G

**Gabali**, an ancient People of Gaul, inhabiting the Country of *Givaudan*.

**Gades**, *Cadiz*, an ancient and considerable City of Spain.

**Gaditani**, the People of Gades, or *Cadiz*, in Spain.

**Galatia**, a Country of Asia Minor, lying between Cappadocia, Pontus, and Paphlagonia; now called *Chiangare*.

**Galli**, the People of ancient Gaul, now the *French*.

**Gallia**, the ancient and renowned Country of Gaul, now *France*. It was divided by the Romans into,

**Gallia Cisalpina**, *Tonsa*, or *Togata*, now *Lombardy*, between the Alps and the River Rubicon: And

**Gallia Transalpina**, or *Comata*, comprehending *France, Holland, the Netherlands*; and farther subdivided into,



## I N D E X of the Names of Places.

Gallia Belgica, now a part of *Lower Germany*, and the *Netherlands*, with *Picardy*; divided by Augustus, into Belgica and Germania; and the latter into prima and secunda.

Gallia Celtica, now *France* properly so called; divided by Augustus, into Lugdunensis, and Rothomagensis.

Gallia Aquitanica, now *Gascony*; divided, by Augustus, into prima, secunda and tertia: And

Gallia Narbonensis, or Braccata, now *Languedoc*, *Dauphiny*, and *Provence*.

Gallicia, a Province of Spain, of a large Extent, once a Kingdom, and comprehending *old Castile*, but now a Part of the Kingdom of *Leon*.

Gallogræcia, a Country of Asia Minor, the same as *Galatia*.

Garites, a People of Gaul, inhabiting the Country now called *Gavre*, or *Gavardan*.

Garoceli, or Graioceli, an ancient People of Gaul, about Mount *Cenis*, or *Mount Genevre*; others place them in the *Val de Morienne*.

Garumna, the *Garonne*, one of the largest Rivers of France, which arising in the Pyrenees, flows thro' *Guienne*, forms the vast Bay of *Garonne*, and falls, by two Mouths, into the British Seas.

Garumni, an ancient People of Gaul, in the Neighbourhood of the *Garonne*.

Gebenna Mons, the Mountains of the *Cevennes*, which separated the Helvians from the Arverni.

Geldura, a Fortress of the Ubii, on the Rhine, not improbably the present Village of *Gelb*, on that River, eleven German Miles from Neus.

Genabum, *Orleans*, an ancient Town in Gaul, famous for the

Massacre of the Roman Citizens committed there by the Carnutes.

Geneva, a City of Savoy, now a free Republick, upon the Borders of Helvetia, at the going out of the Rhone from the Lake Lemanus, anciently a City of the Allobroges.

Genusus, a River of Macedonia, uncertain.

Gepidæ, or Gepidi, an ancient northern People, supposed to have dwelt about the Mouth of the Vistula.

Gergovia, the Name of two Cities in ancient Gaul, the one belonging to the Boii, the other to the Arverni. Their situation is not certainly known.

Germania, *Germany*, one of the largest Countries of Europe, and the Mother of those Nations which, in the Fall of the Roman Empire, conquered all the rest.

Gesatæ, a kind of Militia among the ancient Germans.

Getæ, an ancient People of Scythia, who inhabited betwixt Mæsia and Dacia, on each Side of the Danube. Some think their Country the same with the present *Wallachia*, or *Moldavia*.

Getulia, a Province of the Kingdom of Morocco, in Barbary.

Gomphi, a Town in Thessaly, *Gonfi*.

Gorduni, a People of Belgium, the ancient Inhabitants of *Ghent*; according to others, of *Courtray*.

Gotini, an ancient People of Germany, who were driven out of their Country by Maroboduus.

Græcia, *Greece*, a large Part of Europe, called by the Turks, *Romelia*, containing many Countries, Provinces, and Islands, once the Nursery of Arts, Learning, and Sciences.

Graioceli, the ancient Inhabitants

## I N D E X of the Names of Places.

tants of *Mount Cenis*, see *Garoceli*.

*Grudii*, the ancient Inhabitants about *Louvain*, or, according to some, about *Bruges*.

*Gugerni*, a People of ancient Germany, who dwelt on the right Banks of the Rhine, between the *Ubii* and the *Batavi*.

*Guttones*, or *Gythones*, an ancient People of Germany inhabiting about the *Vistula*.

### H

*Hæmus*, a Mountain dividing *Mœsia* and *Thrace*, *Argentaro*.

*Haliacmon*, a River of *Macedonia*, uncertain.

*Harudes*, or *Harudi*, a People of *Gallia Celtica*, supposed to have been originally Germans; and by some to have inhabited about *Constance*.

*Hellespont*, *Straits of Gallipoli*, the famous Straits by *Constantinople*, dividing Europe from Asia, between *Propontis*, and the *Ægean Sea*.

*Helvetia*, *Switzerland*, now divided into thirteen Cantons.

*Helvetii*, the *Switzers*, ancient Inhabitants of the Country of *Switzerland*.

*Helvii*, an ancient People of Gaul, inhabiting the Country now possessed by the *Vivarois*.

*Heraclea*, a City of *Thrace*, on the *Euxine Sea*, *Pantiro*.

*Heraclea Sentica*, a Town in *Macedonia*, *Chefia*.

*Hercynia Silva*, the *Hercynian Forest*, the largest Forest of ancient Germany, being reckoned by *Cæsar* to have been sixty Days Journey in length, and nine in breadth. Many Parts of it have been since cut down, and many are yet remaining; of which, among others, is that called the *Black Forest*.

*Hermanduri*, an ancient People of Germany, particularly in the Country now called *Misnia*, in upper Saxony; tho' they possessed a much larger Tract of Land, according to some all *Bohemia*.

*Herminius Mons*, a Mountain of *Lusitania*, *Monte Armino*; according to others, *Monte della Strella*.

*Heruli*, an ancient northern People, who came first out of *Scandavia*, but afterwards inhabited the Country now called *Mecklenburg* in lower Saxony, towards the *Baltick*.

*Hibernia*, *Ireland*, a considerable Island to the West of Great Britain.

*Hippo*, *Bona*, a City of the Province of *Constantine*, in the Kingdom of *Tunis*, in *Africa*, upon the *Mediterranean*.

*Hispalis*, a City of *Hispania Bætica*, *Seville*.

*Hispania*, *Spain*, one of the most considerable Kingdoms in Europe, divided by the Ancients into *Tarraconensis*, *Bætica*, and *Lusitania*.

*Hyrcania*, a Country of Asia, bordering on the *Caspian Sea*, *Tabaristan*, *Gorgian*.

### I

*Jacetani*, or *Lacetani*, a People of Spain, near the *Pyrenean Mountains*.

*Jadertini*, a People so called, from their capital *Jadera*, a City of *Illyricum*, *Zara*.

*Jazygæ*, or *Jazyges*, a People of *Sarmatia Europea*, inhabiting about the Countries now called *Livonia* and *Prussia*.

*Iberus*, a River of *Hispania Tarraconensis*, the *Ebro*.

*Iceius*, or *Itius Portus*, a Sea-Port-

## I N D E X of the Names of Places.

Port-Town of ancient Gaul; *Boulogne*, or, according to others, *Calais*.

*Igilium*, an Island in the Tuscan Sea, *il Giglio*, *L' Isle du Lys*.

*Iguvium*, a City of Umbria in Italy, *Gubio*.

*Ilerda*, a City of Catalonia, in Spain, now called *Lerida*, on the *Segre*.

*Ilurgavonenses*, a People of Hispania *Tarraconensis*, near the *Iberus*.

*Illyricum*, formerly the Country between Pannonia to the North, and the Adriatic Sea to the South, divided into *Liburnia* and *Dalmatia*. It is now chiefly comprehended under *Dalmatia* and *Sclavonia*, and bordered by Pannonia, *Istria*, Macedonia, and the Adriatic Gulf; almost wholly under the respective Dominions of the Venetians and the Turks.

*Illurgis*, a Town of Hispania *Bætica*, *Illera*.

*Infutria*, a Country of Gallia *Cisalpina*, now the Duchies of *Milan*, *Mantua*, *Brescia*.

*Ionia*, a Country of Asia Minor, anciently inhabited by a Colony from Greece, *Sarchan*.

*Issa*, an Island of the Adriatic Sea, *Lissa*.

*Ister*, that Part of the Danube which passed by *Illyricum*.

*Istria*, a Country now in Italy, under the Venetians, bordering on *Illyricum*, so called from the River *Ister*.

*Istropolis*, a City of lower *Mœsia*, near the South Entrance of the Danube, *Prostraviza*.

*Isara*, the *Isere*, a River of France, which arises in Savoy, and falls into the Rhone above Valence.

*Isauria*, a Province anciently of Asia Minor, now a Part of Ca-

*ramania*, and subject to the Turks.

*Italia*, *Italy*, one of the most famous Countries in Europe, once the Seat of the Roman Empire, now under several Princes, and free Commonwealths.

*Itaica*, a City of Hispania *Bætica*, *Sevilla la Veja*; according to others, *Alcala del Rio*.

*Ituræa*, a Country of Palestine, *Bacar*.

*Jura*, a Mountain in Gallia *Belgica*, which separated the *Sequani* from the *Helvetians*, most of which is now called *Mount St. Claude*.

*Juvavia*, formerly the Capital of *Noricum Mediterraneum*, now *Salzburg*.

*Lago*, a Lake now belonging to the Venetians, between *Verona*, *Brescia*, and *Trent*.

*Lacetani*, a People of Spain, near the *Pyrenean Hills*.

*Lacus Benacus*, *Lago di Guardo*, a Lake now belonging to the Venetians, between *Verona*, *Brescia*, and *Trent*.

*Larinales*, the People of *Larinum*, a City of Italy, *Larino*.

*Larissa*, the principal City of *Thessaly*, a Province of Macedonia, on the River *Peneo*.

*Latini*, the Inhabitants of *Latium*, an ancient Part of Italy, whence the Latin Tongue is so called.

*Latobriges*, a People of Gallia *Belgica*, between the *Allobroges* and *Helvetii*, in the Country now called *Laufane*.

*Lazi*, an ancient People of *Sarmatia Europea*, according to some, on the Banks of the *Palus Mæotis*; but, according to others, towards the *Caspia Portæ*, near the *Iberi*.

*Lemanus Lacus*, the Lake upon which *Geneva* stands, made by the River *Rhone*, between *Swit-*



## I N D E X of the Names of Places.

*Switzerland* to the North, and *Savoy* to the South, commonly called the *Lake of Geneva*.

*Lemnos*, an Island in the *Ægean Sea*, now called *Stalimane*.

*Lemovices*, an ancient People of Gaul, *le Limosin*.

*Lemovices Armorici*, the People of *St. Paul de Leon*.

*Lenium*, a Town in *Lusitania*, unknown.

*Lepontii*, a People of the Alps, near the Valley of *Leventina*.

*Leptis*, a Town in Africa, *Lepeda*, or *Lepeda*.

*Levaci*, a People of *Brabant*, not far from *Louvain*, whose chief Town is now called *Leew*.

*Leuci*, a People of *Gallia Belgica*, where now *Lorraine* is, well skilled in darting. Their chief City is now called *Toul*.

*Lexovii*, an ancient People of Gaul, *Lisieux* in *Normandy*.

*Liburni*, an ancient People of *Illyricum*, inhabiting Part of the present *Croatia*.

*Ligeris*, the *Loire*, one of the greatest and most celebrated Rivers of France, said to take one hundred and twelve Rivers in its Course; it rises in *Velay*, and falls into the Bay of *Aquitain*, below *Nantz*.

*Liguria*, a Part of ancient Italy, extending from the *Appennines* to the *Tuscan Sea*, containing *Ferrara*, and the Territories of *Genoa*.

*Lilybeum*, the most western Promontory of the Island of *Sicily*, where stood a City of the same Name, now *Capo Boco*.

*Limo*, or *Limomum*, a City of ancient Gaul, *Poitiers*.

*Lingones*, a People of *Gallia Belgica*, inhabiting in and about *Langres*, in *Champagne*.

*Lissus*, an ancient City of *Macedonia*, *Alessio*.

*Lucani*, an ancient People of Italy, inhabiting the Country now called *Basilicate*.

*Luceria*, an ancient City of Italy, *Lucera*.

*Lusitania, Portugal*, a Kingdom on the West of Spain, formerly a Part of it.

*Lutetia, Paris*, an ancient and famous City, the Capital of all France, on the River *Seine*.

*Lydia*, an inland Country of Asia Minor, formerly governed by the famous *Croesus*, who was the last King of it, *Carasia*.

*Lygii*, an ancient People of upper Germany, who inhabited the Country now called *Silesia*, and on the Borders of *Poland*.

### M

*Macedonia*, a large Country, of great Antiquity and Fame, in Greece, containing several Provinces, now under the Turks.

*Mæotis Palus*, a vast Lake in the North Part of *Scythia*, now called *Marbianco*, or *Mare della Tana*. It is about six hundred Miles in Compass, and the River *Tanais* disembogues itself into it.

*Magetobria*, or *Amagetobria*, a City of Gaul, uncertain.

*Malaca*, a City of *Hispania Bætica*, *Malaga*.

*Mandubii*, an ancient People of Gaul, *P' Auxois*, in *Burgundy*.

*Marcomanni*, a Nation of the *Suevi*, whom *Cluverius* places between the *Rhine*, the *Danube*, and the *Neckar*; who settled, however, under *Maroboduus*, in *Bohemia* and *Moravia*.

*Marrucini*, an ancient People of Italy, inhabiting the Country now called *Abruzzo*.

*Marfi*, an ancient People of Italy, inhabiting the Country now called *Ducato de Marfi*.

*Massia*.



## I N D E X of the Names of Places.

**Massilia, Marfeilles**, a large and flourishing City of Provence, in France, on the Mediterranean; said to be very ancient, and, according to some, built by the Phœnicians; but, as Justin will have it, by the Phocians, in the time of Tarquinius King of Rome.

**Matifco**, an ancient City of Gaul, *Mascon*.

**Matrona**, a River in Gaul, the *Marne*.

**Mauritania, Barbary**, an ancient large Region of Africa, divided into Cæsariensis, Tingitana, and Sitofensis.

**Mazaca**, a City of Cappadocia, *Tifaria*.

**Mediomatrices**, a People of Lorrain, on the Mosel, about the City of Metz.

**Mediterranean Sea**, the first discovered Sea in the World, still very famous, and much frequented, which breaks in, from the Atlantic Ocean, between Spain and Africa, by the Straits of Gibraltar, or Hercules' Pillars, the *plus ultra* of the Ancients.

**Medobrega**, a City of Lusitania, *Armenna*.

**Meldæ**, according to some the People of *Meaux*; but more probably corrupted from *Belgæ*.

**Melodunum**, an ancient City of Gaul, upon the Seine, above Paris, *Melun*.

**Menapii**, an ancient People of Gallia Belgica, who inhabited on both Sides of the Rhine. Some take them for the Inhabitants of *Cleves*; and others of *Antwerp, Ghent, &c.*

**Mesopotamia**, a large Country in the Middle of Asia, between the Tigris and the Euphrates, *Diarbeck*.

**Messana**, an ancient and celebrated City of Sicily, still known by the Name of *Messina*.

**Metaurus**, a River of Umbria, now called *Metoro*, in the Dutchy of Urbino.

**Metiosedum**, an ancient City of Gaul, on the Seine, below Paris, *Corbeil*.

**Metropolis**, a City of Thessaly, between Pharfalus and Gomphi.

**Mitylene**, a City of Lesbos, *Metelin*.

**Mœsia**, a Country of Europe, and a Province of the ancient Illyricum, bordering on Pannonia, divided into the Upper, containing *Bosnia* and *Servia*, and the Lower, called *Bulgaria*.

**Mona**, in Cæsar, the Isle of Man; in Ptolemy, *Anglesey*.

**Morini**, an ancient People of the Low Countries, who probably inhabited on the present Coast of *Bologne*, on the Confines of *Picardy* and *Artois*, because Cæsar observes, that from their Country was the nearest Passage to Britain.

**Mosa**, the *Mæse*, or *Meuse*, a large River of Gallia Belgica, which falls into the German Ocean below the Briel.

**Mosella**, the *Moselle*, a River which, running through Lorrain, passes by Triers, and falls into the Rhine at Coblentz, famous for the Vines growing in the Neighbourhood of it.

**Munda**, an ancient City of Spain, *Munda*; al. *Ronda la Vieja*.

**Mursa**, a Town and Castle, in Sclavonia, at the Conflux of the Draw and Danube, now called *Esseck*, famous for a Bridge three Miles over.

**Myfia**, a Country of Asia Minor, not far from the Hellespont, divided into Major and Minor.

## N

**Nabathæi**, an ancient People of Arabia, uncertain.

**Nannetes**,

## I N D E X of the Names of Places.

Nannetes, an ancient People of Gaul, inhabiting about *Nantes*.

Nantuates, an ancient People of the North Part of Savoy, whose Country is now called *Le Chablais*.

Narbo, *Narbonne*, an ancient Roman City, in Languedoc, in France, said to be built an hundred and thirty-eight Years before the Birth of Christ.

Narisci, the ancient People of the Country now called *Nortgow*, in Germany, the Capital of which is the famous City of Nuremburg.

Naupactus, an ancient and considerable City of Ætolia, now called *Lepanto*.

Neapolis, a City of Italy, which still retains the Name of *Naples*.

Neapolis, a City of Africa, between Clupea and Adrumetum, now called *Napoli*.

Nemetes, a People of ancient Germany, about the City of Spire, on the Rhine.

Nemetocenna, a Town of Belgium, not certainly known; according to some, *Arras*.

Neocæsarea, the Capital of Pontus, on the River Licus, now called *Tocat*.

Nervii, an ancient People of *Gallia Belgica*, thought to have dwelt in the now Diocese of *Cambray*.

Nessus, or Nestus, a River in Thrace, *Nesso*.

Nicea, a City of Bithynia, now called *Isnick*, famous for the first general Council, Anno 324, against Arianism.

Nicomedia, a City of Bithynia, where Constantine the Great died, *Comidia*.

Nicopolis, a City of Armenia the less, *Gianich*; likewise of Bulgaria, at the Confluence of the Isacar, and the Danube, commonly called *Nigeboli*.

Nilus, the *Nile*, a River of Egypt, famous for its annual Overflow.

Nitiobriges, an ancient People of Gaul, *l' Agenois*.

Noreia, a City on the Borders of Illyricum, about nine German Miles from Aquileia.

Noricæ Alpes, that Part of the Alps, which were in, or bordering upon Noricum.

Noricum, anciently a large Country, now containing several, as a great Part of *Austria*, *Stiria*, *Carinthia*, Part of *Tyrol*, *Bavaria*, &c. and divided into Noricum Mediterraneum, and Ripense.

Noviodunum Belgarum, an ancient City of Belgic Gaul, now called *Noyon*.

Noviodunum Biturigum, *Neuvy*, or *Neufvy*.

Noviodunum Æduorum, *Nevers*.

Noviodunum Sueffionum, *Soissons*, al. *Noien*.

Noviomagum, *Spire*, an ancient City of Germany, in the now upper Circle of the Rhine, and on that River.

Numantia, a celebrated City of ancient Spain, famous for a gallant Resistance against the Romans, in a Siege of fourteen Years; *Almasan*.

Numidia, an ancient and celebrated Kingdom of Africa, bordering on Mauritania; *Algiers*, *Tunis*, *Tripoli*, &c.

Numicus, the *Numico*, a River of ancient Latium in Italy.

Nymphæum, a Promontory of Macedonia, in the Confines of Slavonia.

O

Obucula, a Town in Hispania-Bætica, uncertain.

*Ocelum*,

## I N D E X of the Names of Places.

Ocelum, a Town situated among the Alps in Gaul, *Exillet*.

Octodurus, a Town belonging to the Veragrians, *Martinao*.

Octogesa, a City of Hispania Tarraconensis, *Mequinenza*.

Orchomenus, a Town in Bœotia, *Orcomeno*.

Oricum, a Town in Epirus, *Orco*, or *Orcha*.

Oscenses, the People of Osca, a Town in Hispania Tarraconensis, now *Huescar*.

Osismii, an ancient People of Gaul, uncertain.

### P

Padus, the *Po*, the largest River in Italy, which arises in Piedmont, and dividing Lombardy into two Parts, falls into the Adriatick Sea, by many Mouths.

Pamani, an ancient People of Gallia Belgica; according to some, those of *Luxemburg*; according to others, the People of *Pemont*, near the Black Forest.

Palæste, a Town in Epirus, near Oricum.

Pannonia, a very large Country, in the ancient Division of Europe, divided into the Upper and Lower, and comprehended betwixt Illyricum, the Danube, and the Mountains Cethi.

Parada, a Town in Africa, not far from Utica.

Parætonium, a maritime City of Africa, *Alberton*.

Parisii, an ancient People of Gaul, inhabiting the Country now called the *Isle of France*.

Parthia, a Country in Asia, lying between Media, Caramania, and the Hircanian Sea.

Parthini, a People of Macedonia.

Peligni, a People of Italy in *Apruzzo*.

Peloponnesus, the *Morea*, a famous, large and fruitful Peninsula of Greece, now belonging to the Venetians.

Pelusium, an ancient and celebrated City of Egypt, *Belbais*.

Pergamus, an ancient and famous City of Mysia, *Pergamo*.

Perinthus, a City of Thrace, about a Day's Journey West of Constantinople, now in a decaying Condition, and called *Heraclæa*.

Persia, one of the largest, most ancient, and celebrated Kingdoms of Asia. It antiently contained many Countries, and now many Provinces.

Petra, an ancient City of Macedonia, uncertain.

Petrogorii, a Country in Gaul, *Perigord*.

Peucini, the Inhabitants of the Island of Peuce, in one of the Mouths of the Danube.

Pharsalia, a Part of Thessaly, famous for the Battle between Cæsar and Pompey, which decided the Fate of the Roman Commonwealth.

Pharus, an Isle facing the Port of Alexandria in ancient Egypt; *Farion*.

Phasis, a large River in Colchis, now called *Fasso*, which flows into the Euxine Sea.

Philippi, a City of Macedonia, on the Confines of Thrace, *Filippo*.

Philippopolis, a City of Thrace, near the River Hebrus, *Filippopoli*.

Phrygia, two Countries in Asia Minor, one called Major, the other Minor.

Picenum, an ancient District of Italy, lying Eastward of Umbria; the *March of Ancona*, according to others *Piscara*.

Picli,



## I N D E X of the Names of Places.

**Piæti, Piæti**, an ancient barbarous northern People, who by Intermarriages became, in course of Time, one Nation with the Scots; but are originally supposed to have come out of Denmark or Scythia, to the Isles of Orkney, and from thence into Scotland.

**Pictones**, an ancient People of Gaul, inhabiting the Country of *Poitou*.

**Pirustæ**, an ancient People of Illyricum, *Albanesi*.

**Pisaurum**, a City of Umbria in Italy, *Pisaro*.

**Placentia**, an ancient City of Gallia Cisalpina, near the Po, now the Metropolis of the Dutchy of *Piacenza*, which Name it also bears.

**Pleumofii**, an ancient People of Gallia Belgica, subject to the Nervians, and inhabiting near *Tournay*.

**Polentia**, an ancient City near the Alps, though the learned disagree as to the particular Situation of it.

**Pontus**, an ancient Kingdom of Asia Minor, between Bithynia and Paphlagonia upon the Euxine Sea.

**Pontus Euxinus**, the *Euxine*, or *Black Sea*, from the *Ægean* along the Hellespont, to the *Mæotic Lake*, between Europe and Asia.

**Posthumiana Castra**, an ancient Town in Hispania Bætica, now called *Castro el Rio*.

**Præciani**, an ancient People of Gaul, *Precins*.

**Provincia Romana**, or *Romanorum*, one of the southern Provinces of France, the first the Romans conquered and brought into the Form of a Province, whence it obtained its Name; which it still in some Degree re-

tains, being called at this Day *Provence*.

**Prusa or Prufas, Bursa**, a City of Bithynia, at the Foot of Olympus, built by Hannibal.

**Ptolemais**, an ancient City of Africa, *St. Jean d'Acre*.

**Pyrenæi Montes**, the *Pyrenees*, or *Pyrenæan Mountains*, one of the largest Chains of Mountains in Europe, which divide Spain from France, running from East to West eighty-five Leagues in length.

## R

**Ravenna**, a very ancient City of Italy, near the Coast of the Adriatick Gulph, which still retains its ancient Name. In the Decline of the Roman Empire, it was sometime the Seat of the Emperors of the West; as it was likewise of the *Wisi-Gothick Kingdom*.

**Rauraci**, a People of ancient Germany, near the *Helvetii*, who inhabited near where *Basel* in Switzerland now is.

**Rhedones**, an ancient People of Gaul, inhabiting about *Rennes* in *Bretagne*.

**Rhætia**, the Country of the *Grisons*, on the Alps, near the *Hercynian Forest*.

**Rhemi**, the People of *Rheims*, a very ancient, fine, and populous City of France, in the Province of Champagne, on the River *Vesle*.

**Rhenus**, the *Rhine*, a great and famous River in Germany, which formerly divided it from Gaul. It springs out of the *Rhætian Alps*, in the western Borders of Switzerland, and the northern of the *Grisons*, from two Springs which unite near *Coire*, and falls into



## I N D E X of the Names of Places.

into the Maese and the German Ocean, by two Mouths, whence Virgil calls it *Rhenus bicornis*.

Rhodanus, the *Rhone*, one of most celebrated Rivers of France, which arises from a double Spring in *Mont de la Fourche*, a Part of the Alps, on the Borders of Switzerland, near the Springs of the Rhine, and after a vast Circuit through France, falls into the Mediterranean, by five Mouths.

Rhodope, a famous Mountain of Thrace, now called *Valiza*.

Rhodus, *Rhodes*, a celebrated Island in the Mediterranean, upon the Coast of Asia Minor, over-against Caria.

Rhyndagus, a River of Mysia in Asia, which falls into the Propontis.

Roma, *Rome*, once the Seat of the Roman Empire, and the Capital of the then known World, now the immediate Capital of Camagna di Roma only, on the River Tiber, and the Papal Seat; generally supposed to have been built by Romulus, in the first Year of the seventh Olympiad.

Roxolani, a People of Scythia Europæa, bordering upon the Alani: Their Country, anciently called Roxolania, is now *Red Russia*, belonging to the Crown of Poland.

Ruspina, an ancient Maritime City of Africa, *Souse*.

Rutheni, an ancient People of Gaul, *la Rouergue*.

Sabis, the *Sambre*, a River of the Low Countries, which arises in Picardy, and falls into the Maese at Namur.

Saguntini, the People of Saguntum, a noble City of ancient Spain,

the Memory of which is recorded with Honour, for the Fidelity shewn to its Allies the Romans, *Morvedre*.

Salassii, an ancient People of Piedmont, whose chief Town was where now *Aosta* is situate.

Salluvii, *Sallyes*, a People of Gallia Narbonensis, about where *Aix* now is.

Salona, an ancient City of Dalmatia, and a Roman Colony; the Place where Dioclesian was born, and whither he retreated, after he had resigned the Imperial Dignity.

Salsum, a River of Hispania Bætica, *Rio Salado*, or *Guadajoz*.

Samarobriva, *Amiens*, an ancient City of Gallia Belgica, enlarged and beautified by the Emperor Antoninus Pius, now the chief City of Picardy, on the River Somme.

Santones, the ancient Inhabitants of *Guienne* or *Xantaigne*.

Sardinia, a great Island in the Mediterranean, which in the Time of the Romans had forty-two Cities, now belonging to the Duke of Savoy, with the Title of King.

Sarmatia, a very large northern Country, divided into Sarmatia Asiatica, containing *Tartary*, *Petigora*, *Circassia*, and the Country of the *Morduitæ*: And Sarmatia Europæa, containing *Russia*, Part of *Poland*, *Prussia*, and *Lithuania*.

Sarsura, a Town in Africa, unknown.

Savus, the *Saave*, a large River, which arises in upper Carniola, and falls into the Danube at Belgrade.

Scaldis, the *Scheld*, a noted River in the Low Countries, which arises in Picardy, and washing several

## I N D E X of the Names of Places.

veral of the principal Cities of Flanders and Brabant, in its Course, falls into the German Ocean by two Mouths, one retaining its own Name, and the other called the *Honte*.

Scandavia, anciently a vast northern Peninsula, containing what is yet called *Schonen*, anciently Scania, belonging to *Denmark*; and Part of *Sweden*, *Norway* and *Lapland*.

Scythia, a large Country, properly Crim-Tartary; but in History and Geography, greatly extended, and particularly divided into Scythia Asiatica, on either side of Mount Imaus: And Scythia Europæa, about the Euxine Sea, and the Mæotic Lake.

Seduni, an ancient People of Switzerland, *Sion*.

Sedusii, an ancient People of Germany, on the Borders of Suabia.

Segni, an ancient German Nation, Neighbours of the Condrusi, *Zulpich*.

Segontiaci, a People of ancient Britain, inhabiting about *Holshot*, in Hampshire.

Segovia, a City of Hispania Bætica, *Sagovia la menos*.

Segusiani, a People of Gallia Celtica, about where now *Lionois Forest* is situate.

Senones, an ancient Nation of the Celtæ, inhabiting about the *Senonais*, in Gaul.

Sequanæ, the *Seine*, one of the principal Rivers of France, arising in the Dutchy of Burgundy, not far from a Town of the same Name, and running through Paris, and by Roan, forms at Candebec a great Arm of the Sea.

Sequani, an ancient People of Gallia Belgica, inhabiting the Country now called the *Franche Comté* or the *Upper Burgundy*.

Sesuvii, an ancient People of Gaul, inhabiting about *Seex*.

Sibutzates, an ancient People of Gaul, inhabiting the Country of *Buck*.

Sicilia, *Sicily*, a large Island in the Tyrrhene Sea, at the south-west Point of Italy, formerly called the Store-house of the Roman Empire, and the first Province the Romans possessed out of Italy.

Sicoris, a River in Catalonia, the *Segre*.

Sigambri, or Sicambri, an ancient People of Lower Germany, between the Maese and the Rhine, where *Guelderland* is; though by some placed on the Banks of the Maine.

Silicensis, a River of Hispania Bætica, *Rio de las Algamidas*. Others think it a Corruption from *Singuli*.

Sinuessa, a City of Campania, not far from the Save, an ancient Roman Colony, now in a ruinous Condition; *Rocca di Mondragone*.

Soricaria, a City of ancient Spain, unknown.

Soritia, an ancient Town in Spain, unknown.

Sotiates, or Sontiates, an ancient People of Gaul, inhabiting the Country about *Aire*.

Sparta, a City of Peloponnesus, now called *Musistra*, said to be so ancient as the Days of the Patriarch Jacob.

Spoletum, *Spoletto*, a City of great Antiquity, of Umbria, in Italy, the Capital of a Dutchy of the same Name, on the River Tefino, where are yet some stately Ruins of ancient Roman and Gothic Edifices.

Suessiones, an ancient People of Gaul, *le Soissonois*.

Suevi, an ancient, great, and warlike People of Germany, who possessed

## I N D E X of the Names of Plates.

possessed the greatest Part of it, from the Rhine to the Elbe, but afterwards removed from the northern Parts, and settled about the Danube, and some marched into Spain, where they established a Kingdom.

Sulcitani, an ancient People of Sardinia, unknown.

Sulmo, an ancient City of Italy, *Sulmona*.

Sunici, an ancient People of the Dutchy of *Limburg*, where there is yet a Place called *Sunich*, a Name probably borrowed from them.

Syracusæ, *Saragusa*, once one of the noblest Cities of Sicily, said to be built by Archias, a Corinthian, above seven hundred Years before Christ. The Romans besieged and took it during the second Punic War, on which Occasion the great Archimedes was killed. It has been so entirely destroyed, that it has no Remains to shew of its Antiquity.

Syria, a large Country of Asia, containing several Provinces, now called *Souristan*.

Syrtes, *the Desarts of Barbary*; also two dangerous sandy Gulphs, in the Mediterranean, upon the Coast of Barbary, in Africa, called the one Syrtis magna, now the *Gulph of Sidra*, the other Syrtis parva, now the *Gulph of Capes*.

### T

Tamefis, the *Thames*, a celebrated and well known River of Great Britain.

Tanais, the *Don*, a very large River in Scythia, dividing Asia from Europe. It rises in the Province of Resan, in Muscovy, and flowing through the Crim-Tartary, runs into the Mæotick Lake,

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near a City of the same Name, now in Ruins, and in the Hands of the Turks.

Tarbelli, a People of ancient Gaul, near the Pyrenees, inhabiting about *Ays* and *Bayonne*, in the Country of *Labourd*.

Tarracina, an ancient City of Italy, which still retains the same Name.

Tarraco, *Tarragona*, a City of Spain, which, in ancient time, gave Name to that Part of it called Hispania Tarrakonensis; by some said to be built by the Scipios, though others say before the Roman Conquest, and that they only enlarged it. It stands on the Mouth of the River Tulcis, now *el Fracoli*, with a small Haven on the Mediterranean.

Tarsus, *Tarso*, the Metropolis of Cilicia, famous for being the Birth-Place of St. Paul.

Tarusates, an ancient People of Gaul, uncertain; according to some, *le Teursan*.

Tauris, an Island in the Adriatick Sea, unknown.

Tauois, the Name of a Castle near Marseilles.

Taurus Mons, the greatest Mountain in all Asia, extending from the Indian to the *Ægean* Sea, called by different Names in different Countries, viz. Imaus, Caucasus, Caspius, Cerauius, and in Scripture, Ararat. Herbert says it is fifty English Miles over, and fifteen hundred long.

Tectosages, see Volcæ.

Tegea, a City of Africa, unknown.

Tenchtheri, a People of ancient Germany, bordering on the Rhine, near *Overyssel*.

Tergetini, an ancient People inhabiting about *Trieste*, in the Confines of Istria and the Carni.

S

Terni,



## I N D E X of the Names of Places.

Terni, an ancient Roman Colony, on the River Nare, twelve Miles from Spoletum.

Teutones, or *Teutoni*, an ancient People bordering on the Cimbri, the common ancient Name for all the Germans, whence they yet call themselves *Teutsche*, and their Country *Teutschland*.

Thabena, a City of Africa, unknown.

Thapsus, a Maritime City of Africa, uncertain.

Thebæ, a City of Bœotia, in Greece, said to have been built by Cadmus, destroyed by Alexander the Great, but rebuilt, and now known by the Name of *Stives*.

Thermopylæ, a famous Pass on the great Mountain Oeta, leading into Phocis, in Achaia, now called *Bocca di Lupo*.

Thessaly, a Country of Greece, formerly a great Part of Macedonia, now called *Janna*.

Thessalonica, the chief City of Macedonia, now called *Salonichi*.

Thracia, a large Country of Europe, eastward from Macedonia, commonly called *Romania*, bounded by the Euxine and Ægean Seas.

Thurii, or Turii, an ancient People of Italy, *Torre Brodogneto*.

Tigurinus Pagus, a Nation of the Helvetians, the ancient Inhabitants of the Canton of *Zurich*, in Switzerland.

Tifdra, or Tifdrus, an ancient City of Africa, *Caircan*.

Tolosa, *Thoulouse*, a City of Aquitain, of great Antiquity, the Capital of Languedoc, on the Garonne.

Toxandri, an ancient People of the Low Countries, about *Breda*, and *Gertruydenburgh*; but according to some of the Diocese of *Liege*.

Tralles, an ancient People of Lydia in Asia Minor, *Chora*.

Treviri, the People of *Treves*, or *Triers*, a very ancient City of Lower Germany, on the Moselle, said to have been built by Trebetas, the Brother of Ninus. It was made a Roman Colony in the time of Augustus, and became afterwards the most famous City of Gallia Belgica. It was for some time the Seat of the western Empire, but it is now only the Seat of the Ecclesiastical Elector named from it.

Tribocci, or Triboces, a People of ancient Germany, inhabiting the Country of *Alsace*.

Trinobantes, a People of ancient Britain, Inhabitants of the Counties of *Middlesex*, and *Hertfordshire*.

Troja, *Troy*, a City of Phrygia, in Asia Minor, near Mount *Ida*, destroyed by the Greeks after a ten Years Siege.

Tubantes, an ancient People of Germany, about *Westphalia*.

Tugium, a City and Canton of Helvetia, or Switzerland, now called *Zug*.

Tulingi, an ancient People of Germany, who inhabited about where now *Stulingen* in Switzerland is.

Tungri, an ancient People inhabiting about where Tongres, in Liege, now is.

Turones, an ancient People of Gaul, inhabiting about *Tours*.

Tuscia, *Tuscany*, a very large and considerable Region of Italy, anciently called *Tyrrhenia*, and *Etruria*.

Tyber, one of the most noted, tho' not largest Rivers of Italy, which arises in one of the Appennines, and, among other Places, passing



## I N D E X of the Names of Places.

passing thro' Rome, falls into the Tyrrhenian Sea at *Ofia*.

Tygris, a rapid River of Asia, which, in its course, unites with the Euphrates.

Tyrus, *Tyre*, an ancient City of Phœnicia, upon the Mediterranean, famous for its Traffick and Riches.

### V

Vacca, a Town in Africa, unknown.

Vahalis, *the Waal*, the middle Branch of the Rhine, which, passing by Nimeguen, falls into the Maese, above Gorcum.

Valencia, a City of Spain, which gives Name to a whole Kingdom, about a Mile from the Mediterranean, supposed to be built by Junius Brutus.

Valentia, *Valence*, a City of Gallia Narbonensis, now in Dauphiny, on the Rivers Rhone and Here.

Vangiones, an ancient People of Germany, about the City of *Worms*.

Varus, the *Var*, a River in Gaul, that flows into the Ligurian Sea.

Ubii, an ancient People of Lower Germany, who inhabited about where *Cologne*, and the Dutchy of *Juliers* now are.

Ucubis, a Town in Hispania Bætica, *Lucubi*.

Velauni, an ancient People of Gaul, inhabiting about *Velai*.

Vellaunodunum, a Town in Gaul, about which Geographers are much divided; some making it *Auxerre*, others *Chasteau Landon*, others *Villeneuve* in Lorrain, others, *Veron*.

Velocasses, an ancient People of Normandy, about *Rouan*.

Veneti, this Name was anciently given as well to the *Venetians*, as to the People of *Vannes* in Bretagne, in Gaul, for which last it stands in *Cæsar*.

Venetia, *Venice*, a noble City of Italy built upon sixty Islands, joined together by five hundred Bridges, at the Top of the Adriatic Gulph, the Capital of a powerful Commonwealth.

Ventisponte, a Town in Spain, unknown.

Veragri, a People of Gallia Lugdunensis, whose chief Town was *Aganum*, now *St. Maurice*.

Verbigenus, or Urbigenus Pagus, a Nation or Canton of the Helvetians, inhabiting the Country in the Neighbourhood of *Orbe*.

Vercelli Campi, the *Plains of Vercelle*, famous for a Victory the Romans obtained there over the Cimbri. The City of that Name is in Piedmont, on the River *Sesia*, on the Borders of the Dutchy of Milan.

Veromandui, a People of Gallia Belgica, whose Country, now a Part of Picardy, is still called *Vermandois*.

Verona, a City of Lombardy, the Capital of a Province of the same Name, on the River *Adige*, said to be built by the Gauls two hundred and eighty-two Years before Christ. It has yet several Remains of Antiquity.

Vesontio, *Besançon*, the Capital of the Sequani, now the chief City of Burgundy.

Vettones, a People of Spain, inhabiting the Province of *Estramadra*.

Vibo, a Town in Italy, not far from the Sicilian Straits, *Bibona*.

Vienna, a City of Narbonese Gaul, *Vienne* in Dauphiny.

Vindelici, an ancient People of Germany,

## I N D E X of the Names of Places.

Germany, Inhabitants of the Country of *Vindelicia*, otherwise called *Rætia secunda*.

*Vistula*, the *Weichsel*, a famous River of Poland, which arises in the Carpathian Mountains, in Upper Silesia, and falls into the Baltic, not far from Dantzic, by three Mouths.

*Visurgis*, the *Wejer*, a River of Lower Germany, which arises in Franconia, and, among other Places of Note, passing by Bremen, falls into the German Ocean, not far from the Mouth of the Elbe, between that and the Ems.

*Ulla*, or *Ulia*, a Town in Hispania *Bætica*, in regard to whose Situation Geographers are not agreed; some making it *Monte major*, others, *Vaena*, others, *Vilia*.

*Umbria*, a large Country of Italy, on both Sides of the Apennines.

*Unelli*, an ancient People of Gaul, uncertain.

*Vocates*, a People of Gaul, on the Confines of the *Lapurdenses*.

*Vocontii*, an ancient People of Gaul, inhabiting about *Die*, in Dauphiny, and *Vaison* in the County of Venisse.

*Vogesus Mons*, the Mountain of *Vauge* in Lorrain, or, according to others, *de Faucilles*.

*Volcae Arecomici*, and *Tecto-*

sages, an ancient People of Gaul, inhabiting the *Upper* and *Lower Languedoc*.

*Ursao*, a Town of Hispania *Bætica*, *Offuna*.

*Usæta*, a Town of Africa, whose Situation is not certainly known.

*Usipetes*, an ancient People of Germany, who frequently changed their Habitation.

*Utica*, a City of Africa, famous for the Death of Cato; *Biserte*.

*Uxellodunum*, a Town in Gaul, whose Situation is not known; according to some *Uffoldun*.

*Uzita*, a Town unknown.

### X

*Xantones*, the same with the *Santones*, or People of *Xantonge*.

### Z

*Zama*, a Town in Africa, famous for the Defeat of Hannibal there by Scipio, now called *Zamora*.

*Zetta*, a maritime City of Africa, now *Zerbi*.

*Ziela*, or *Zela*, a City of Pontus, *Arzila*.

*Zingitana*, a Part of ancient Africa, now included in the Kingdom of *Algiers*.

# A N I N D E X O F PERSONS and THINGS.

N. B. The Numerals refer to the Book, the Figures to the Section. G. stands for the Wars in Gaul; C. for the Civil Wars; *Al.* for the Alexandrian; *Af.* for the African; *Sp.* for the Spanish War.

**A**CCO, Prince of the Senones, his Conduct on Cæsar's Approach, G. vi. 3.

Condemned in a Council of the Gauls, *ibid.* 41.

*Achillas*, Captain of Ptolemy's Guards, sent to kill Pompey, C. iii. 85. Appointed by Pothinus Commander of all the Egyptian Forces, *ibid.* 89. Heads an Army of twenty thousand veteran Troops, *ibid.* 91. Variance between him and Arsinoë, Ptolemy's Sister, *Al.* 3.

*Acilla*, demands a Garrison from Cæsar, *Af.* 30. Besieged in vain by Confidius, 30, 40.

*Adiatomus*, sallies upon Crassus

at the Head of a chosen Body of Troops, G. iii. 23.

*Adrumetum*, held by Confidius Longus, with a Garrison of one Legion, C. ii. 21. Cæsar makes himself Master of it, *Af.* 77.

*Æduans*, complain to Cæsar of the Ravages committed in their Territories by the Helvetians, G. i. 9. Join in a Petition against Ariovistus, *ibid.* 23. At the Head of one of the two leading Factions of Gaul, G. vi. 12. Cæsar quiets an intestine Commotion among them, G. vii. 30. And prevents their revolting from the Romans, *ibid.* 35. Which nevertheless comes to pass soon after, *ibid.* 52.

*Ægimurus*, a Trireme belonging to Cæsar taken there by Varus and Octavius, *Af.* 41.

## I N D E X of Persons and Things.

*Æginium*, Domitius joins Cæsar near that Place, C. iii. 56.

*Ægus* and *Roscillus*, their perfidious Behaviour towards Cæsar, C. iii. 51.

*Ætolia*, recovered from Pompey by the Partizans of Cæsar, C. iii. 30.

*Afranius*, Pompey's Lieutenant, his Exploits in Conjunction with Petreius, C. i. 36. Carries the War into Celtiberia, *ibid.* 55. Surrenders to Cæsar, *ibid.* 76. prevails with one of his Slaves to dispatch him, *Af.* 82.

*Africans*, a crafty warlike People, *Af.* 9. Their Manner of concealing their Corn, *ibid.* 57.

*Agar*, defended with great Bravery against the Getulians, *Af.* 58.

*Agendicum*, Cæsar quarters four Legions there, G. vi. 40. Labienus leaves his Baggage in it under a guard of new Levies, and sets out for Lutetia, G. vii. 54.

*Alba*, Domitius levies Troops in that Neighbourhood, C. i. 13.

*Albici*, a kind of Mountaineers taken into the Service of the Marfeillians, C. i. 32.

*Alces*, a Species of Animals resembling in some respects a Goat, to be found in the Hercynian Forest, G. vi. 25.

*Alesia*, Cæsar shuts up Vercingetorix there, G. vii. 62. Surrounds it with Lines of Circumvallation and Contravallation, *ibid.* 66. Obliges it to surrender, *ibid.* 82.

*Alexandria*, Cæsar pursues Pompey thither, C. iii. 87. Is unexpectedly intangled in a War at that Place, *ibid.* 88. Difficulties Cæsar had to encounter there for want of Water, *Al.* 4. Cæsar enters the Town with his victorious Army, and receives it into his Protection, *ibid.* 23.

*Alexandrians*, an acute and ingenious People, *Al.* 2. But treacherous and without Faith, *ibid.* 4. They petition Cæsar to send them their King, *ibid.* 16.

*Allier*, Cæsar eludes the Vigilance of Vercingetorix, and by an Artifice passes that River, G. vii. 33.

*Allobrogi*, supposed to be not well affected to the Romans, G. i. 5. Complain to Cæsar of the Ravages of the Helvetians, *ibid.* 9.

*Alps*, Cæsar crosses them with five Legions, G. i. 8. Sends Galba to open a free Passage over them to the Roman Merchants, G. iii. 1.

*Amagetobria*, famous for a Defeat of the Gauls there by Ariovistus, G. i. 23.

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*Amanus*, a Mountain in Asia, near which Scipio sustains some Losses, C. iii. 28.

*Ambarri*, complain to Cæsar of the Ravages committed in their Territories by the Helvetians, G. i. 9.

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